TEXT AND CONTEXT

FRANK COULSON, SERIES EDITOR

Collections in Context

The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe

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The Ohio State University Press · Columbus

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Collections in context : the organization of knowledge and community in Europe / edited by Karen Fresco and Anne D. Hedeman.
p. cm.—(Text and context)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-8142-1171-7 (cloth : alk. paper)—ISBN 978-0-8142-9265-5 (cd)
1. Literature, Medieval—History and criticism. 2. Manuscripts—History. 3. Manuscripts—Collectors and collecting. 4. Manuscript design. I. Fresco, Karen Louise, 1947– II. Hedeman, Anne Dawson. III. Series: Text and context (Columbus, Ohio)
PN681.C64 2011
809'.031075—dc23
2011030535

Cover design by Laurence J. Nozik
Text Design by Jennifer Shoffey Forsythe
Type set in Adobe Garamond Pro
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

Cover illustration: John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp presented by Saints George and Margaret to the Virgin and Child. *Book of Hours.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 40-1950, fol. 7v. Photo courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library.

♾ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials. ANSI Z39.48-1992.

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume grows out of a conference held at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, in September 2007. We thank the following organizations for their generous support: the Program in Medieval Studies; the School of Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics; the Illinois Program for Research in the Humanities; the departments of French, English, Spanish, Italian and Portuguese, and Germanic Languages and Literatures; and the Worldwide Universities Network.

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BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BL	London, British Library
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}

INTRODUCTION

Collections Rediscovered and Redefined

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When we speak of collections today, we typically mean items on display—in cabinets, on shelves, or in the museum—or, in the case of literature, works published together in an anthology focusing on a single theme, genre, or author. The act of collecting typically brings to mind a hobby taken up by an individual for the pleasure of the pursuit, be it collecting rare editions of manuscripts, expensive artwork by established masters, or items that are more eccentric and that reflect the collector's personal taste and interests. Viewed through our twenty-first-century lens, collectors and collections would seem to be a modern phenomenon. Indeed, the history of collecting often begins with the *Wunderkammer*—or curiosity cabinets—of early modern Europe, where aristocratic collectors put on display intriguing and wondrous objects that they had both the leisure and the means to acquire. Serious consideration of the activity or impact of collecting prior to the sixteenth century is usually neglected as scholars grapple with how to understand collections without known collectors acting as agents in the process. Skepticism arises even in considering royal patrons of the medieval period who amass a large collection of precious objects and books as "true collectors" since many of these items were acquired as gifts or inherited. Likewise, debates over the nature of the medieval church treasure repeatedly question whether or not treasure can be thought of as a precursor to the later *Wunderkammer,* or if these are completely independent of one another as cultural phenomena. With these and similar questions, historians of collecting often become mired in defining what constitutes a "true collection." In a recent essay, "Collecting (and Display)," Pierre Alain Mariaux once again takes up the

notion of church treasure as a form of collecting.[1] He concludes that it was, but only after Abbot Suger, the twelfth-century abbot of Saint-Denis, intentionally moved the treasure out of the crypt and placed it in the choir, thereby putting it on display for public viewing along with other curiosities like ostrich eggs that were hung strategically around the church to engage the viewers' attention. Mariaux's definition, then, is contingent on the intentionality of display.

The fourteen essays in this volume look more broadly at the intention and presentation of collecting between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to explore how an adviser, editor, artist, writer, printer, or bookmaker might bring together selected works to cultivate an impression, sometimes intended for only one viewer, sometimes for many. This collection of papers allows us to adjust our lens and reconsider the assumptions we hold about how and why collecting takes place, how collections take shape, and in what way their impact contributes to our knowledge. When approaching the topic more broadly, it becomes evident that Mariaux and many others who have taken up the same argument are actually addressing the notion of collecting more narrowly as an institutional phenomenon, and for this reason focus on collectors as precursors to museum donors, people like Sir Hans Sloane, whose personal collection formed the foundation of the British Museum after his death in 1753. The emergence of museums too easily colors what we assume we mean when we talk about collections.

But the act of collecting, of gathering similar or dissimilar things, of tending or editing those items, has played a pervasive and influential role in shaping our knowledge and culture, certainly prior to the advent of museums. The process of collecting might involve multiple actions—observing, defining, amassing, acquiring, selecting, omitting, creating, and presenting—each of which requires an assessment of the material or object considered. Medieval vocabulary tends to focus on the notion of gathering, as in *colligere* for assembling men or things, or *corpus,* for the body that is collected. *Universitas, divers,* and *thesaurus* are terms that were also employed; yet this vocabulary does not specify the type of collection, a hierarchy, or other intentional order to those things gathered together.[2] On the contrary, these words were applied rather generally to a number of situations, and in most instances have taken on greater specificity over time. The term *universitas,* for example, was used already in the twelfth century in the context of the newly emerging universities at Paris and Bologna, but not exclusively

1. Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Collecting (and Display)," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA, and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 213–32.

2. See Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Collecting," pp. 214–15, and Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas, expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le moyen âge latin. L'église et l'état au Moyen Âge,* vol. XIII (Paris: J. Vrin, 1970), especially pages 33–44 and 53–57.

so because a *universitas* was simply a body of individuals somehow affiliated with one another. While the application of these words was general, this does not suggest that collecting or collections were unknown; rather it merely suggests that they were not thought of as being so narrowly fixed in their definition. As Julia Simms Holderness notes in her essay in this volume, "compilation" in its modern sense is used to describe a wide range of manuscripts, such as miscellanies, that are assumed to lack any systematic organization; however, upon closer inspection many of these works were carefully organized by the author or compiler to convey underlying political messages. The systematic organization is sometimes simply not one we readily recognize today.

Focusing on the action and not the collection itself, Caroline Walker Bynum has written elsewhere on the "impulse to collect" that arose with the cult of relics of the High Middle Ages, and one could argue that there is ample evidence for this even earlier with the circulation of "blessings" or souvenirs collected by early Christian pilgrims who traveled to holy sites.[3] These were highly personal collections with their own type of wonder—wondrous for what they symbolized but not necessarily for how they appeared. Pilgrims who went off on such journeys undoubtedly returned with stories collected in their minds, repeated and relayed to listeners eager to learn of faraway places, organizing for those listeners a framework of knowledge and other cultures that could become their own by shaping their perceptions of the world. As Eleonora Stoppino points out in her contribution to this volume, "when you collect something you capture it (perhaps because of its otherness or its authority) but you capture it and bring it or what it represents into focus through the presentation of the collection." If we focus exclusively on those collections that fit our modern definition, we neglect consideration of what existed long before the institutionalization brought about by museums and publishers.

Peter Ainsworth presents the "uncollection" of medieval manuscripts in the new, cyber world of collecting. Collecting in this manner is open to multiple participants, allowing each to form as many reiterations of a collection as he or she wishes. Cleverly named *Virtual Vellum,* his project makes viewer and collector one and the same, delving into collections across institutions, to gather and regather in infinite combinations. This is an inversion of Mariaux's definition, in which the collections that one can view are no longer fixed in a place and time, or tied to the intentionality of a figure like Abbot Suger to control the viewer's experience. Rather, we are allowed constantly to reconfigure collections at our own whim, reshaping our knowledge and culture as we wish. By demonstrating this fluidity of postmodern collecting, Ainsworth sets the stage for us to consider new ways of thinking about what might constitute pre- or

3. Caroline Walker Bynum, "Wonder," *American Historical Review* CII:1 (1997), pp. 1–26.

early modern collections and how their compilers and viewers interacted with them. Ainsworth calls to our attention the compounded impact of copying and editing as critical factors not only in the creation of discrete works but also in the continually changing modes in which those works are collected, examined, and presented. Each reiteration and recombination of a collection allows the collector to hone, expand, or shift the focus, creating new meanings, often for new audiences. The images his team has digitized are discrete and static when captured, yet the collections themselves and the modes of examining them are certainly not. Dynamic and ongoing, they continually reshape our knowledge.

As the essays in this volume demonstrate, reasons to collect in the fourteenth through seventeenth century appear to have been multifold, ranging across a broad spectrum of possible intentions. In many instances, collections were created to edify their audiences. Elissa Weaver's essay, in particular, reveals this well in the case of Sister Fiammetta Frescobaldi, a sixteenth-century Dominican sister, who not only collected books but also wrote and compiled texts "to occupy her mind, and provide inspiration for the mothers and sisters." Sister Frescobaldi's is a striking example because in her writing, as Weaver notes, she reveals her own philosophy and rationale for forming her compilations. Unconcerned with a moralizing history that praises the past and condemns the present, Frescobaldi wants her readers to delight in the stories as if wandering through a garden encountering all its delights, resting to observe its miracles and taking pleasure from the random sequence and variety of its contents.

A thirteenth-century case presented by Carol Symes shows that collections could also have a commemorative function. Thought to be the earliest extant compilation of a single author's work, BnF fr. 25566 commemorates the work and life of the Arrageois *chansonnier* and dramatist, Adam de la Halle. A carefully planned combination of images and text in this manuscript lends it a distinctly performative aspect that not only memorializes Adam's work but also seems to situate it in relation to his Arrageois predecessor, Jehan Bodel. By considering texts included in the manuscript not written by Adam de la Halle, Symes reveals how the manuscript may have functioned—at least symbolically—as a requiem, and uncovers complex layers of meaning for commemorating Adam's life in addition to his work. The particular selection of texts functions together as a "monument in parchment." Through her meticulous analysis of key events in Adam's and Jehan's lives and of their works' circulation, Symes illustrates how individual works can assume and impart different meanings depending on the context of the collection's creation and in relation to the other works contained within it.

In other arenas, self-glorification played a role when creating a new addition to an already impressive collection of manuscripts. Erin Donovan's study looks at the *Livre d'Eracles* owned by Louis de Bruges, a prominent fifteenth-century

diplomat and bibliophile, who actively built most of his two-hundred-volume library. Donovan uncovers the more personal interest of the collector himself by reconsidering thematic links that carried across genres. Donovan shows that the *Livre d'Eracles,* in assembling texts that tell of the mythological founding of the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece and historical adventures, and then pairing with it visual images that portray a more contemporary Burgundian court, becomes a glorification of contemporary Flemish heroes and crusading knights of the Burgundian court, famous for their constant self-posturing to bolster their political agenda. This collection may have helped to shape that reputation.

Whether didactic, commemorative, or propagandistic, collections can grow out of compilations of previous texts, taking on new layers of meaning each time their organization and structure is reconsidered and revised by later hands. Here we must ask how the items have been organized, if they are alike or dissimilar, if they are serial or discrete, and if the collection's parts are treated equally. These questions are posed in Eleonora Stoppino's examination of the first printed epic stories of Italian literature—particularly the *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno,* probably first published in Venice in the late fifteenth century. These chivalric epics were subjected to constant restructuring that resulted in filiations, prequels, and spin-offs. Looking at the text as a "complete collection of adventures," Stoppino has analyzed the process of assembling, fracturing, separating, and reassembling to create and recreate collections by reshaping and reordering the integral, discrete parts—in this case epic adventures—that comprise the whole. Questioning the function of seriality in the unfolding of the epic, Stoppino looks for other principles or similarities by which to understand the text, namely, filiation, that provide an organizational scheme to the various adventures. (Interestingly, Boiardo, one of the authors, compared his work to a bouquet of flowers, similar to Sister Fiammetta Frescobaldi's description of her collection of works produced for her nuns.) In the case of *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno,* seriality impacts the work more through the mode of distribution: the epic's "unity is lost but paradoxically recreated as a collection" in that it was sold serially as a dozen different booklets with isolated tales. In reaction to Susan Stewart's assertion that the collection "strives for authenticity and closure of all space and temporality with the context at hand," Stoppino argues that fragmentation is precisely what transformed this epic from a multithreaded narrative into a collection.

Medieval authors were often well aware of the composite nature of their work. Julia Simms Holderness notes that Jean de Meun was certainly aware of this when he completed the *Romance of the Rose,* begun forty years earlier by Guillaume de Lorris in the thirteenth century. Over one hundred years later, as the quarrel over theological, feminist, and moral ideas contained within the *Rose* ensued, other compilations of treatises, sermons, and letters concerned

with the debate were produced, such as those between Christine de Pizan and Gontier Col. These exchanges in turn inspired the debaters, Col among them, to compile "authentic" copies of works attributed to Jean de Meun, and to restore such works to their "authentic" state, thus creating—through the act of compiling and reshaping—texts that have "the force of an authorial text."

While Holderness looks at authors and compilers who were well-known even in their own day, Marcus Keller presents an example where anonymity most likely provided the impetus to fame for its respective texts. The *Trésor politique* is a seventeenth-century French translation of an anonymous collection of Italian diplomatic reports and treatises. Disseminated throughout Europe, and subsequently revised, expanded, and translated by later editors, the collection played a formative role in the development of modern conceptions of statehood. In this case, the flexibility of what Keller calls "the anthological mode" allowed the editors to take on the role of "the literary intelligence," and actively adapt the collection according to the political climate of the day. Building on the distinction made by Seth Lerer between miscellanies and anthologies, Keller demonstrates how the very absence of the authorial voice in this anthology allows it to become such an authoritative and influential text, despite—or precisely because of—the anonymity of its authors and editors. Through a close examination of the Turk, one of the *Trésor*'s most prominent figures, Keller postulates that the "anthological mode" allowed fragmentation and juxtaposition of autonomous pieces to suggest new ideas about statehood to emerge without provocation in part because the mode itself defies "ideological closure." The mode of presentation, then, allowed and even facilitated more complex conceptualizations for its audience. As several papers in this volume have demonstrated, the remix of textual works can lead to powerful reinterpretations.

Paula Carns applies the notion of *compilatio* as understood in reconfigurations of literature to a fourteenth-century ivory casket known as the Gort Casket in order to assess the "unique visual (re)tellings" of love scenes carved on it. By comparing scenes on the Gort Casket to their literary counterparts and to other composite caskets, Carns arrives at a more nuanced assessment of the casket's amorous themes than previous scholars, and shows how visual strategies helped link together themes that materialize collectively in those romance stories, in this way reshaping the visual depictions to facilitate storytelling, but also reshaping the telling of the stories themselves through visual linkages of secondary elements.

Nancy Freeman Regalado has offered an instance where the use of distinct iconography—wings—in an illustrated copy of Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* of 1285 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 308) creates an "intertextual and intervisual network of images" that enhances a reading of the text to express chivalric notions of prowess inspired by love and spiritual resis-

tance to evil. Regalado rightly seeks to question the intentions of the author, patron, artists, and compilers in creating meaning. Moreover, she explores the important and active role of the readers in making signifying relationships between images and texts. While Jacques's text was most likely composed for an aristocratic patron who participated in tournaments, Ms. Douce 308 was created for an affluent, but nonnoble patrician audience whose members sought to fashion themselves as *chevaliers.* Here, the use of iconography appears to act as a visual commentary, creating a multitude of references within the vernacular text but also linking it thematically to biblical texts, thereby reinforcing its secular and spiritual themes. It served as a model of "worldly glory" yet could further "engage chivalric readers in the mighty struggle for salvation." Beyond her careful and insightful review of the manuscript's distinct iconography, Regalado has shown the fundamental role of the audience in observing or reading the "intertextual and intervisual network of images." While the author or compiler might pull the collection together and give it a guiding form, the audience plays an active role in its interpretation. Several essays in this volume explore this aspect: consider Symes's dramatist or Holderness's debates as examples of how collections can be understood within a performative framework, enlivening them to be more than discreet and static objects, images, or texts.

Kathryn Duys also looks at the role of the audience by considering reading techniques in her essay on the Soissons manuscript (BnF, Ms. n. a. fr. 24541). Compiled for Philip IV of Valois, this manuscript adds dynastic themes appropriate to Philip through the textual, musical, and visual additions skillfully placed throughout it. Through an analysis of the structure and arrangement of the various elements comprising the volume, Duys brings to light reading strategies that would have guided the viewers' interpretation and resonated with Philip IV. For example, the frontispiece by Jean Pucelle is instrumental in guiding the reader and setting the context in which to interpret the collected texts and images. But Duys also looks at external factors as potential reading strategies when considering the manuscript next to other texts such as the satire of the interpolated *Fauvel,* other manuscripts with the *Miracles,* and the many copies of the *Grandes chroniques.* In this way, the manuscript is not only itself a collection, but part of a larger network of known items held collectively in the minds of its audience, a collection that would have informed and influenced their perceptions of the *Miracles.*

An exploration of reading strategies and of "cross-textual or extra-textual dialogue"—as described by Anne D. Hedeman—is also observed by Andrew Taylor, Craig Taylor, and Karen Fresco in their studies of the Shrewsbury Book. Given to Margaret of Anjou as a wedding gift in 1445 following her betrothal to Henry VI of England, this manuscript contains a unique collection of chivalric texts that also highlight Henry's claim to the French throne. Commissioned

by John Talbot, commander and first Earl of Shrewsbury, the manuscript has inspired much speculation as to whether the anthology was originally made for Talbot himself and later converted into a gift for Margaret. The Shrewsbury Book is unique in that it can be assigned to a specific moment of gift giving, even though its intended audience remains debated. By considering several potential intended readers for the book, Andrew Taylor shows how the audience might momentarily frame the collection, providing a specific context for interpretation for this compilation that brought together past chivalric tales with future aspirations in an "optimistic trajectory." At the same time, he considers the dual nature of the book both as a tool and as a diversion from the quotidian, suggesting how various hypothetical readers might have experienced the book.

Craig Taylor looks more comprehensively at the contents brought together in this rare compilation, carefully assessing which texts were included and which were not. The manuscript contains several French texts, such as Christine de Pizan's *Fais d'armes,* that probably had not circulated in England prior to their debut in the Shrewsbury Book; but interestingly Talbot also omits Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris,* the most popular military treatise of the Middle Ages. He warns against too readily assuming that compilations gather together the most widely read or popular texts of their day, and forgetting that they too could promote preconceived agendas. We are equally warned of the pitfalls of relying exclusively on surviving manuscripts when trying to reconstruct the knowledge of past eras. The Shrewsbury Book, as a collection, speaks with an authoritative voice in part by bringing together such a rare and remarkable range of texts that, Taylor believes, might have formed a mirror of princes for Margaret's future son.

Karen Fresco, on the other hand, focuses on just one text, the *Fais d'armes,* which in addition to its rare appearance here was not typically presented as part of any collection, surviving mostly as a single text. By considering the arrangement and distribution of illustrations, Fresco calls for a reading strategy that would have been experienced by leafing through the text, rather than a cover-to-cover, page-by-page journey. By identifying symmetries among images and texts, Fresco shows how the navigation of the text could have structured a reading for the viewer, and suggests that Christine's work may have been a logical stand-in and preferred choice for the omitted Vegetius text. What then emerges is Talbot's portrayal of himself in loyal service, his ideals and accomplishments, all of which are emphasized in the dedication image portraying Talbot as he gives Margaret a copy of the *Fais d'armes.* Here, as in other examples in the volume, the images capture the performative act in which the collection can be understood.

Anne D. Hedeman likewise considers this performative moment, but also highlights an unfolding of heraldic displays that emphasize Talbot's dedication

to the queen, studying how a complex layering of images presented "a dynastic frame" to guide the royal couple's reading and to promote Talbot and his wife's standing with them. The use of heraldry creates another visual layer that could be read as easily as the text, and that helped shape the meaning of the compilation. While the heraldry ties some elements together, the cycles of images throughout the work present questions regarding the role of artists in introducing visual compilations that resonate both within and beyond the work. The manuscript incorporates the work of four workshops, coordinated by a *libraire,* and draws on images available in other exemplars both in Rouen and perhaps in Talbot's personal library. In this light the Shrewsbury Book encapsulates overlapping collections from its various contributors—artists, authors, the *libraire,* and Talbot himself.

How then should we conceive of collections in the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries? Several shared considerations permeate the examples presented here, with each paper typically addressing multiple aspects of each, thus demonstrating the complexity of the topic and the interrelatedness of its elements. First, *why collect?* The reasons can range from boldly propagandistic or self-serving to consciously didactic, but no matter what the purpose, those intentions could dictate how to interpret the collection as a whole. Similarly, and also under this first head, the context cannot be overlooked. *Whose context is shaping the collection and on whose behalf? The maker, editor, compiler, reader, viewer, or owner? Or perhaps a combination?* Collections can act as extensions or mirrors of the owners and readers, thus one must question how the owner or viewers experience the collection. *Was it intended for use in private or in public?* One must also keep in mind that collections can change contexts over time. There is never a single context, but rather the context is constantly shifting. While one can argue that this is true of any work, the claim is made more complex in the case of collections because the collection itself can be so easily taken apart, reconfigured, or repurposed. Collections can be built of collections, as with anthologies within libraries, and individual items in one collection can reference items in another collection, thereby creating other networks of meaning, resonating beyond the collection itself and independent of the local collections to which they belong.

Second, *whose authority authenticates the collection? And for whom? Are sources openly acknowledged and cited or are they hidden?* Weaver and Keller have compelling counterexamples of carefully documented disclosure versus preserved anonymity, and note the powerful effect of each of these strategies. Presumably by its very nature the collection itself becomes a source of authority, but as Symes, Holderness, and Craig Taylor point out this is sometimes too easily assumed by later readers, who gloss over any omissions or ignore seemingly unrelated texts bound within the same volume, thereby missing common

threads or implicit themes that nuance and shape the meaning of the collection as a whole.

Third, and just as vital as the context and content, is the importance of format and shape. *How are the items organized? Are the items alike or dissimilar? Are the parts of the collection treated equally?* Analysis of the format and order figures in nearly every essay and reveals a surprising range of options, some more loosely arranged, others more tightly organized in relation to a highly visible element such as a frontispiece. *Are there underlying or embedded themes or formulas?* Several essays consider the metaphors of gardens, recurrent iconography such as with "wings of chivalry," or heraldic themes and language in the Shrewsbury Book, among others. *How do component parts work to build a knowledge base?* Many of the authors address notions of the metatext or the linking of larger ideas through thematic cues in order to decipher how meaning can be shaped by—or can transcend—the given structure. In some cases there are multiple collections within an anthology. Collections can be made of overlapping layerings of text, image, and music—each element with its own networks of meaning extending out to different genres or social spheres. These elements are brought together internally within the collection through their forced relationship to one another. They are also associated externally through performative, literary, or other socio-political references outside of the collection, producing a constellation of meaning.

The essays in *Collections in Context* provide the opportunity to reach beyond modern assumptions to consider the process of collecting and its fundamental role for individuals and networks through which knowledge and culture were conveyed between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, and—with Ainsworth—our own. The studies in this volume examine how collecting continually mediates knowledge, and how various modes of presentation could be deployed. One is left with the conclusion that collections should not be restricted to a definition that requires public viewing; nor should collections be defined as a group of discrete objects that have been removed from the functional realm to become curiosities or works of wonder. Many of the examples discussed in this volume were intended to function actively for their viewers or owners, which is precisely what makes their contribution to shaping knowledge and culture so profoundly interesting. Their effect came from within culture, not by being removed from it, an insight that has been clouded by our modern notion of the museum. As evidenced by *Virtual Vellum,* it is a definition from which we are once again breaking free.

I. Composing, Ordering, and Circulating Collections

CHAPTER 1

Collections

Editing, Exhibitions, and e-Science Initiatives

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Notwithstanding the Herculean labors of the Société de l'Histoire de France and Académie Royale de Belgique, editorial work on Jean Froissart's formidably prolix *Chroniques* continues unabated. This essay charts recent progress relating to Book III of the *Chroniques* before describing efforts to create a collection of virtual Froissart manuscripts for study across several interrelated projects: an online edition, a set of associated e-Science tools, an international Grid collaboratory and exhibitions mounted at the Royal Armouries Museum in Leeds and the Musée de l'Armée in Paris.[1]

Most readers familiar with Book III of Froissart's *Chroniques* will have gained their acquaintance via the edition published between 1931 and 1975 by the Société de l'Histoire de France.[2] Its four volumes provide scholars with a (largely) reliable text derived from BnF Ms. fr. 2650, deemed by its editors to be the sole complete witness for what they decided (though with scant evidence adduced since the critical Introduction was never published) was a "second redaction" of Book III.[3] This would naturally lead one to surmise that the remaining manuscripts, of which there are over twenty, must belong to

1. The present contribution is a slightly revised version of an essay, "Editing, e-Science and Exhibitions," that appears in *Essays in Later Medieval French Literature: The Legacy of Jane H. M. Taylor,* ed. Rebecca Dixon, Durham Modern Languages Series (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 107–25. We are grateful to the editor, Rebecca Dixon, and to DMLS for their kind permission to publish the material jointly.

2. S. Luce, G. Raynaud, Léon Mirot, Albert Mirot, eds., *Jean Froissart, Chroniques*, 15 tomes, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1869–1975). Book III: tomes 12–15, ed. L. et A. Mirot.

3. The Belgian Academy edition published the text of the so-called Breslau (Rehdiger) Ms. transcribed in 1468, but is unduly interventionist and modernizes many of the original spellings: *Chroniques,* ed. Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 26 tomes, Brussels, 1867–77.

a "first" redaction. Scholars wishing to test the hypothesis will soon have at their disposal a new edition of a complete "first redaction" manuscript witness, Besançon Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 865. Tome 1 of the new edition appeared in December 2007 in Droz's "Textes Littéraires Français" collection, the choice of publisher and series reflecting the ambiguous generic status of the Book III text as literature and history.[4] Comprising around a third of the total narrative and incorporating a substantial critical apparatus, it will be completed by two further tomes scheduled for publication by 2012.

A first observation in this context is that the opening third of Besançon Ms. 865's Book III text (which in total occupies folios 201r–451v of that manuscript, the opening two hundred folios being devoted to a text for Book II) is largely identical to the equivalent section of the so-called "second redaction" as represented by BnF Ms. fr. 2650. Collation against two other complete "first redaction" witnesses for Book III, BL Arundel Ms. 67 and BnF Ms. fr. 6475, again shows up what appear to be only very minor differences, usually involving words, short phrases, or 3–4 line variants. However, a recent selective collation of the entire corpus of extant Book III manuscript witnesses by our collaborator Godfried Croenen,[5] using an approach adapted from that developed by Alberto Varvaro for Book IV manuscripts,[6] has put the entire "two redactions" hypothesis into question. BnF Ms. fr. 2650 emerges from this collation as distinctive to the extent that Croenen believes it to derive from a different (lost) source, *O2,* to that (also lost) from which all other Book III witnesses derive. Besançon Ms. 865, meanwhile, emerges convincingly from this same analysis as one of the earliest witnesses indirectly derived from the latter source, *O1,* via a lost, intermediate copy or exemplar labeled α (from which stems also what remains of its "close relation" BR Ms. II 88, ff. 16–23 only). From *O1* stems also a second subclass comprising this time BL Arundel Ms. 67.iii and a fragment now at Cambridge University Library (Ms. Hh.3.16), and a third: BnF Ms. fr. 6475, from which descends in turn BnF Ms. n.a.fr. 9605. Compared to what little remains of its near neighbor BR Ms. II 88, and to the Cambridge fragment, Besançon Ms. 865 has the merit of being part of a "complete set" of

4. Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Troisième Livre. MS 865 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Besançon,* ed. Peter Ainsworth, "Textes Littéraires Français" (Geneva: Droz, 2007). Tome 1, 510 p. Part of Besançon Ms. 865's text was published by Armel Hugh Diverres as *Froissart, Voyage en Béarn* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953); translations of the *Voyage* are available in modern French and English.

5. Godfried Croenen, "La tradition manuscrite du Troisième Livre des *Chroniques* de Froissart," in Valérie Fasseur, ed., *Froissart à la cour de Béarn: l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 15–59.

6. Alberto Varvaro, "Problèmes philologiques du Livre IV des *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400,* Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth, eds. (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. 255–77.

Books I–III; unlike the otherwise excellent Arundel Ms. 67.iii, it is complete and undamaged by the miniature thieves who, in the act of excising Arundel Ms. 67's miniatures, took with them chunks of text written on the verso of each of these. It is certainly one of the best witnesses amongst this particular group of Book III manuscripts; but at time of writing it would be injudicious to assign to it, or indeed to either of the other early and complete witnesses, BnF Ms. fr. 6475 or BnF Ms. n.a.fr. 9605, a description quite so categorical as "first redaction." Our edition for Droz of Besançon Ms. 865 remains perforce more "bédiériste" than critical in the fullest sense; the *Online Froissart,* meanwhile, provides the tools and resources for a more comprehensive collation of our base manuscript against those referred to immediately above, to be undertaken by us in due course.[7]

In light of evidence so far adduced, and with reference to Croenen's most recent work, there would appear to be at least two major extant recensions (if not *redactions*) of Book III, deriving respectively from *O1* and *O2.* Only one witness for the latter survives; each, however, merits scholarly attention, especially with regard to the *filiation* of the twenty or so witnesses and subwitnesses deriving from *O1*.[8] A second observation we can make is that a complete edition of the text from at least one of the complete witnesses derived from *O1* (the so-called "first redaction") is urgently needed. Our edition of the entire Besançon Ms. 865 text aims, by 2012, to provide scholars with precisely that benchmark against which to collate not only BnF Ms. fr. 2650 (the *O2* text) but also other complete and early "first redaction" witnesses for Book III such as BnF Ms. Fr. 6475 and BnF Ms. n.a.fr. 9605.

The editorial project based on Besançon Ms. 865 has in any case already spawned a not inconsiderable *Nachleben.* Work on the base manuscript began in the usual way with on-site scrutiny of the manuscript supplemented by later recourse to a black-and-white microfilm for transcription purposes. Opportunity arose in 2002–3 to negotiate special arrangements at the library in Besançon allowing the author to photograph the whole of Ms. 865. The first photoshoot was undertaken by David Cooper, sometime Fellow Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in association with Colin Dunn (latterly of Scriptura Ltd.). Having worked on a number of early digitization projects at the Bodleian Library and Trinity College Library, Dublin, Dunn had developed a concurrent interest in the use of representational technologies for the genera-

7. See: Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, eds., *The Online Froissart,* version 1.2 (2011), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart (accessed 30 May 2011). At time of going to press the resource contains the text of the first two-thirds of Book III (Besançon Ms. 865), which can be collated against that of BnF Ms. fr. 2650.

8. Croenen's proposed stemma ("La tradition manuscrite," p. 59) is currently under revision; see id., "Stemmata, Philology and Textual History: A Response to Alberto Varvaro," *Medioevo Romanzo* 34 (2010), pp. 422–26.

tion of CD-based manuscript viewing systems. An early example using Flash software was a viewing tool devised to enable scholars to explore his digitized folios of the Stowe Missel. These skills were soon applied at the invitation of the author to the development of a viewer for Besançon Ms. 865. A particular appeal of this spin-off project was the fruitful dialogue it opened up between scholar, photographer/programmer, and curator. Dunn being also a graphic designer of talent as well as a skilled calligrapher, there was scope for interplay across a broad range of complementary skills. Not the least interested partner in the process was Besançon's Municipal Library: rather than hedge the project round with what would have been understandably draconian strictures on grounds of copyright and protection of their intellectual property, the librarians offered unstinting support throughout the digitization project and on to the consequential developments described below.

In 2005, a Leverhulme Research Fellowship provided opportunity and resource to extend the digitization program. The objective this time was to photograph the first of the two Besançon Froissart manuscripts, Ms. 864 (containing a complete text for the *première rédaction proprement dite* of Book I).[9] The overall plan was to produce a digital surrogate of a "complete set" of the *Chroniques* as constituted ca. 1392, that is to say, comprising Books I–III inclusive. Copied in Paris between ca. 1412 and ca. 1418, the Besançon Froissart had already been the object of an extensive study by Auguste Castan published in 1865.[10] An article by Godfried Croenen with Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse has more recently explored the context of production underlying the Besançon codices.[11] Croenen and the Rouses have shown how the Besançon Froissart volumes evince a close relationship with BnF Mss. fr. 2663–2664, which (respectively) contain texts for Books I and II. The Paris and Besançon manuscripts appear to have been produced concurrently as *manuscrits jumeaux,* Croenen's hypothesis being that the scribal and artistic "teams" responsible for preparing BnF Ms. fr. 2663 (Book I) were set to work thereafter on what is now known as Besançon Ms. 865 (Books II and III), whilst the "teams" responsible for Besançon Ms. 864 would have subsequently moved on to the production of

9. Valentina Mazzei, "An Edition and Study of Besançon Municipal Library Ms. 864 (Jean Froissart's *Chroniques,* Book I, 'A' redaction)," PhD diss., University of Sheffield, 2008. Revised for publication via *The Online Froissart.*

10. Auguste Castan, "Étude sur le Froissart de Saint-Vincent de Besançon," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 26 (1865), pp. 114–48.

11. Godfried Croenen, Mary Rouse, and Richard Rouse, "Pierre de Liffol and the Manuscripts of Froissart's *Chronicles,*" *Viator* 33 (2002), pp. 261–93. See also Croenen's "Le libraire Pierre de Liffol et la production de manuscrits illustrés des *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart à Paris au début du XVe siècle," *Art de l'Enluminure* 31, déc. 2009–fév. 2010, Editions Faton (Paris, 2009), pp. 14–23; and id., "Pierre de Liffol and the Manuscripts of Froissart's Chronicles," in *The Online Froissart,* ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.2 (2011), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart (accessed 30 May 2011).

BnF Ms. fr. 2664 (Book II). Two artist masters were engaged on this project: the Giac and Boethius Masters, the former often associated with the Master of the Rohan Hours, the second generally considered by art historians to have been a follower or associate of the Master of the Berry Apocalypse (named for New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 133).[12] The quires would have been copied first of course, and we can trace the activity of several scribes responsible for work on the quires, as each gathering arrived at their workshops. Behind this activity is the shadowy figure of Pierre de Liffol. Already known to the Rouses as a Parisian *librarius* active during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, his involvement with the production of manuscripts of Froissart's *Chroniques* was established for the first time in 2002 by Croenen's discovery of an almost totally erased *quittance* on the flyleaf of BnF Ms. fr. 2663 only partially visible under UV light. This revealed the name of the *librarius* responsible for overseeing the copying and decoration of BnF Ms. fr. 2663 and therefore very plausibly of the Besançon Froissart also (or at least of Books II–III as found in Besançon Ms. 865). Still tantalizingly illegible because partially obscured by a later ex-libris was the name of the client for whom the book was made. The identity of this person may yet be revealed by means of image-enhancing techniques applied to high-resolution image files captured in 2009 in the context of continuing projects with the Bibliothèque nationale de France, including the Invalides exhibition.[13]

The high-resolution digital surrogate derived from Besançon Mss. 864–865 is currently seeing service in the context of a UK Arts and Humanities Research Council Resource Enhancement award to Ainsworth and Croenen for the *Online Froissart* (October 2007 to March 2010; ongoing). Book I has been transcribed from Besançon Ms. 864 by Valentina Mazzei; Books II and III from Besançon Ms. 865 by Croenen and Ainsworth. Starting with Peter Robinson's Collate software, the *Online Froissart* has developed a viewing mode allowing users to collate these against transcriptions by Hartley Miller (Liverpool) of other manuscript witnesses as described above. Historical, political, and cultural annotations have been prepared by Katariina Närä (Sheffield) and Natasha Romanova (Liverpool). New translations into modern English by Keira Borrill (Sheffield) provide Anglophone historians possessing little or no Middle French with reliable access to sections of the *Chroniques* that are amongst the most important narrative sources for the Hundred Years' War. These are accessed

12. Inès Villela-Petit, "The Artists: The Giac Master and the Boethius Master, Illuminators of the War," in *The Online Froissart,* ed. Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, version 1.2 (May 2011), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart (accessed 30 May 2011); eadem, "Les Heures de Jeanne du Peschin, dame de Giac. Aux origines du Maître de Rohan," *Art de l'Enluminure* 34, sept.–oct.–nov. 2010, Editions Faton (Paris, 2010), pp. 2–25.

13. For details see: *The Online Froissart,* "About the Project," under "Related Projects," Exhibitions.

via a Table of Contents, whilst chapter summaries facilitate navigation across the Middle French texts. A live link to the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* is provided via the transcriptions.

The *Online Froissart* allows users to consult the image files as well as the edited texts and the content database (accessed via a search engine). To explain how this has been achieved using an approach that we believe to be innovative, we return for a moment to the topic of digitization. Funding from the Yorkshire Universities' Gift Aid scheme in 2004 supported fresh rounds of photography, including a project undertaken at Stonyhurst College Library near Clitheroe, Lancashire. Originally a Jesuit foundation, Stonyhurst is today a flourishing coeducational Roman Catholic secondary school. Its founders and subsequent benefactors endowed it with a prodigiously rich collection of rare books, so extensive and varied that the College Library is faced with a conservation challenge that never diminishes in urgency. Stonyhurst College Library Ms. 1 is a magnificent copy of Book I of Froissart's *Chroniques* thought to have been brought over from France by Sir John Arundell shortly after the battle of Agincourt in 1415. Like Besançon Ms. 864, Stonyhurst Ms. 1 is illustrated with miniatures in which can be detected the hand of the Giac Master and possibly of his or her associates. In contrast to Besançon Ms. 864, however, whose miniatures highlight the achievements of Edward III and his captains, Stonyhurst Ms. 1 was almost certainly destined for a client with strong French sympathies or allegiance: its predominant palette of blue and gold, and the largely gallocentric subjects featuring in the miniatures, redound to the glory of the Valois monarchy of France rather than to that of its Plantagenet rival.

Impressed by Dunn's photographic work on the Stonyhurst and Besançon volumes, two other major libraries owning manuscripts copied and decorated by the same scribes and painters (namely, the Bibliothèque d'Étude et du Patrimoine in Toulouse and the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er in Brussels) expressed their wish to become involved in the project. Toulouse Ms. 511 was photographed on site in July 2006 by Colin Dunn; once again, the library was supportive and keen to help take the project a step further forward. The Toulouse manuscript is one of several Book I witnesses (such as New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 804, produced for Pierre de Fontenay, seigneur de Rance), which emphasize the role of key military leaders in the Hundred Years' War. It is noteworthy for the consistently accurate heraldic blazon featured on the armorial surcoats and banners of the French and English protagonists represented in the miniatures. Two more manuscripts were photographed at Brussels early in 2007, to the same standards and requirements as those used elsewhere and with excellent support facilities provided. BR Ms. II 88 (produced perhaps for a member of the Luxembourg family) is a compendium of fragments made up of leaves from Books I and III of the *Chroniques.* BR Ms. IV 251 on the other

hand is a complete two-volume copy of Book I produced for an identifiable patron, Michel de Laillier, *conseiller à la Chambre des Comptes.* The digital surrogates created at Brussels are expected to contribute in due course to the Royal Library's forthcoming permanent exhibition on the History of the Book; they can be viewed in full on the Belgica and *Online Froissart* websites.

During the Brussels photoshoot the Royal Library was coincidentally visited by Thierry Delcourt, Head of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Offered the opportunity to watch Colin Dunn at work, he subsequently invited the Sheffield team to extend the project to Paris.[14] Funding from the Worldwide Universities Network, which made the Brussels visit possible, provided an additional *tranche* of funding for the photographic capture of BnF Ms. fr. 2664. Matched funding to support the capture of BnF Ms. fr. 2663 was provided by M. Delcourt. The final phase of the photoshoot in February–March 2009 therefore took place fittingly enough just a morning's stroll from the quarter in which Pierre de Liffol once briefed and set to work his preferred teams of copyists and artists. It has provided the modern team with a digital copy of two manuscripts enjoying, as noted above, a very close codicological, art-historical, and paleographical relationship with Besançon Mss. 864–865.

Software development followed hard on the heels of the digital photography, inspired in part by the aims of the *Online Froissart.* A first inspection of the 900 images processed from the raw data files captured from Besançon Ms. 865 convinced us early on that the editorial project would benefit immeasurably from a tool allowing us to scan the data at speed, reliably, and efficiently. It also became clear that advantages were to be gained from developing a viewer equipped with powerful zooming and measuring tools, together with a facility for opening up more than one image at once. A "multiple viewing pane" interface would permit us to compare juxtaposed images of different folios from the same or from different manuscripts or several areas selected from the same folio. Art historians and iconographers, we reasoned, would also welcome a viewing environment of this kind, whilst editors collating a text from several sources would surely benefit from being able to juxtapose (for example) three witnesses for the same fragment of text. For us, the opportunity to develop a viewer allowing close scrutiny of two or more closely related manuscript witnesses for Books I, II, or III, copied by the same scribes and decorated by the same artists (though perhaps employing different associates or apprentices) was especially appealing. The originals were of course housed in libraries across the

14. The quality of Dunn's work is matched by his ability to work sympathetically with partner librarians, curators, and conservators. Years of experience of working with manuscript material at the Bodleian Library in Oxford and at Trinity College Library, Dublin, have contributed to his ability to convince curators that the volumes photographed will invariably be handled with extreme care and sensitivity.

world, whereas the project team had, in theory at least, the possibility of bringing some or most of them together as a virtual collection, marshaled for viewing within the same software environment. Such a viewing tool did not as yet exist; nor were proprietary tools such as Adobe Photoshop or Microsoft PowerPoint fit for the specific purposes we had in mind. It occurred to the team that the kind of tool under review might be even more useful to scholars if it could be designed for use on a laptop (for research, editing, workshops, and lectures) and/or over the Internet. We began to explore the way forward via a prototype designed by Colin Dunn, using Flash, illustrated in figure 1.

During academic year 2005–6, a funding initiative co-sponsored by the UK's Arts and Humanities ICT Methods Network, its Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council, the Joint Information Systems Committee (JISC), and the UK e-Science core program was announced, calling for "innovative e-Science demonstrator projects." It offered an unforeseen opportunity to request funds to develop Dunn's Flash-based viewing tool. A bid was therefore submitted to support R & D for a platform-independent, open source and open access tool of the kind described above but using Java version 1.2 and the JPEG 2000 image file standard rather than (respectively) Flash and the JPEG standard. The proposal was duly funded, work being undertaken between July and December 2006 consequent upon the appointment of Dr. Michael Meredith. With additional support from the University of Sheffield's Humanities Research Institute, a new viewer (Virtual Vellum) was built incorporating a range of additional functionalities. The product was demonstrated at several UK e-Science events and has since been adopted by two other editorial projects involving manuscript facsimiles.

Virtual Vellum allows users to access at high speed (from a laptop, PC, or hard drive, over the Internet or a network grid) images downloaded from collections of high-resolution data files. It has potential applicability for any discipline involving images; manuscript studies, art history, iconography, theater, film and cinema studies, museums and galleries studies, pamphlet studies and *bande dessinée* are just a few that come to mind. Scholars presenting papers at conferences or delivering seminars online that incorporate reference to the image (typically involving side-by-side comparison of two slides) have hitherto been dependent on 35mm slide projectors or PowerPoint. Good as these are, they are far from ideal; they lack in particular the active involvement of scholar-users in the design process. A more flexible viewing environment was clearly needed, allowing scholars to present papers with confidence and to manipulate associated image files efficiently, flexibly, and comparatively. The availability of such a versatile "show-and-tell" environment might, we thought, have the additional benefit of encouraging scholars to use otherwise dormant datasets. The objective, then, was to devise a robust, customizable software environment

for desktop work entailing the use of high-resolution image files, configurable to address the particular needs of arts and humanities researchers and compatible with different kinds of platforms. The following paragraphs provide a more technical account of what is "inside the box."

Virtual Vellum enhances techniques currently employed to display high-resolution images in real time where image sizes are typically greater than 8K × 6K pixels. Key features include use of the JPEG 2000 image file standard, platform independence, and the potential use of both Access and Data Grids. JPEG image compression is currently the predominant technique used for viewing high-resolution images in real time. This is partly due to its affording a noticeably smaller file size as compared to that of a raw (TIFF) image file. However, high-resolution images still take a considerable time to download over the Internet, and require a large amount of processing to convert them into a state allowing them to be displayed to best advantage. Image-viewing tools currently available resort to splitting the complete image into smaller fragments, a process known as "tiling." This produces smaller JPEG file sizes but at the cost of requiring many JPEG files to display just one high-resolution image. When a user views an image in this way, the software retrieves only the relevant JPEG subimages for the portion of the image being displayed. The technique of fragmenting a single image into multiple JPEG files is, however, redundant with respect to preprocessing of the data and storage of it. JPEG 2000 presents an attractive alternative: it achieves the segmentation desired by using a single file without any redundancy. Furthermore, at similar compression ratios, the JPEG 2000 compression technique achieves better visual results than its JPEG counterpart. Thus compared to the original compression quality and ratios, we can have either smaller file sizes or high-quality encodings.

Virtual Vellum embraces the enhancements that JPEG 2000 offers over its JPEG predecessor and facilitates the viewing of images that are encoded in the new format (although it is backwards-compatible for viewing image datasets encoded using the older, JPEG tiling approach). Like its JPEG predecessor, the JPEG 2000 viewer can be used to manipulate the display of high-resolution images in real time (see figures 2 and 3). Platform independence is another characteristic. Since Virtual Vellum is written entirely in Java version 1.2, there is no need to download extra plug-ins (e.g., Flash) before the software can be run. Application of "prefetching" algorithms maximizes performance and speed of access, whilst the addition of several complementary tools (including a TIFF-to-JPEG file converter) has enriched the product's overall versatility. Virtual Vellum is now in regular use for seminar and conference presentations, and is an integral part of the *Online Froissart* and *Christine de Pizan Queen's Manuscript* editorial projects; it has just been adopted for a third such project. As a platform-independent application the software has been developed as open

source and open access. This allows arts and humanities scholars to develop Virtual Vellum to meet specific needs. The software is completely self-contained, so it can easily be transferred between different computers.

The AHRC-funded *Online Froissart* project provided an experimental dataset comprising six complete digitized manuscript surrogates generating approximately 2 TB of uncompressed image data. The raw TIFF data is securely archived on a server; processed JPEG 2000 files are stored on and retrievable from a local hard drive; they can also be accessed over the Internet or via a Data Grid using Storage Resource Broker middleware (SRB) developed at the University of California at San Diego. Virtual Vellum is as adept at showing stand-alone presentations of images to conference or lecture audiences as it is at streaming data from a nonlocal source, once again in real time. The demonstrator application is ideally suited to Access Grid environments where scholars in locations remote from one another wish to discuss the iconographical or art-historical details of an image or image collection (see below, *Pegasus* project). Access and Data Grids offer the ideal framework and computing power for the efficient and rapid handling of large-scale collections of high-resolution files, permitting real-time, close-up scrutiny of single or juxtaposed images, with independent zooming and measuring tools. The White Rose Grid and Worldwide Universities Network's WUN Grid provided the networks used during the initial phase of development. The retrieval of images not held locally but housed at different nodes of a grid network further justifies the need for the comparatively better JPEG 2000 compression technique since bandwidth is in such instances inevitably at more of a premium. Tools still under development will allow users of Virtual Vellum to annotate data online individually, collaboratively, and in real time.

Virtual Vellum was the inspiration for a development undertaken in 2005–7 with funding provided under the auspices of the UK Knowledge Transfer Partnerships scheme overseen by the Department of Trade and Industry. The objective was to develop viewing software to allow museum visitors to explore flexibly and interactively a set of surrogate manuscripts forming part of a public exhibition. Featuring the virtual manuscript collection described above, "The Chronicles of Froissart: From Conflict to Co-operation" opened to the public in December 2007. It showcased the Stonyhurst College manuscript displayed in a high-security sealed case. Visitors could view a single spread (verso and recto) but not of course turn its pages to explore it as they might wish to do. The British Library's excellent "Turning the Pages" software is one kind of solution to such a challenge, but expends a great deal of computing power on generating a lifelike facsimile in something approaching 3D. Simulating the turning by hand of each folio and mimicking the characteristic "fall" of the vellum as each folio is turned over, "Turning the Pages" allows users to explore preprogrammed

pathways and appreciate the beauty of the artifact. The approach taken to manuscript exploration at the Leeds exhibition was altogether different. In addition to the Stonyhurst College manuscript in its case, the Royal Armouries exhibition deployed half a dozen full-length digital surrogates of cognate manuscripts from the early fifteenth-century corpus described above. The Knowledge Transfer Partnership project, linking the University of Sheffield's French Department to e-Learning specialists Tribal, led to the development of a software solution called Kiosque. Not the least original of Kiosque's features is that it allows visitors to compare and contrast different manuscript witnesses for the "same" text; like its progenitor Virtual Vellum, it allows users to set one manuscript alongside one or more of its "cousins" for comparison and evaluation (see figure 4). Several image views of the same folio can be juxtaposed, or a visitor can opt for a synchronous view of the ways in which, say, four of the manuscripts illustrate the battle of Poitiers. Figure 5 illustrates how Kiosque can be used to guide a user through a narrative, supported by the manuscript images. A key aim of the Royal Armouries exhibition was to educate and entertain (*plaire et instruire encore et toujours*), but it should not be forgotten that the exhibition arose in part as the result of conversations about the surrogates' role in helping to secure the long-term conservation of the original manuscripts.

As noted above, the *real* manuscript on display in the exhibition's Treasury was Stonyhurst Ms. 1, lent to the Royal Armouries Museum for the whole run by Stonyhurst College. Complementing the Stonyhurst original were six closely related digital manuscripts whose originals are housed in European libraries, their contents never before having been assembled in a single location.

Composed between ca. 1356 and ca. 1400, Froissart's *Chroniques* remain one of the most significant works of later medieval French literature; even today they remain a prime source for historians of society, politics, culture, warfare, costume, heraldry, and narrative. Widely regarded as the most important prose chronicle arising from the Anglo-French conflict, the *Chroniques* are a blend of historical record, memoir, autobiography, journalism, and war reporting. Using Kiosque, exhibition visitors were able to access more than just the digital manuscripts; maps, genealogies, and narratives from the *Chroniques* were combined with interactive tours of the manuscripts and their contents.

Younger visitors had access to *Capture the Castle,* an interactive computer game conceived, with ZOOtech Interactive DVD and Video, by Genesys Solutions Ltd., a student-run company based in Sheffield. The Royal Armouries contributed a stunning design by Graham Moores and a selection of contemporary arms and armor chosen from their world-famous collection by Senior Curator Dr. Karen Watts. The items were thoughtfully arranged to match and "meet up with" objects depicted in the real and virtual manuscript miniatures. Music, educational events, enactments, swordfights, and demonstrations of cal-

ligraphy completed the experience.

Kiosque was made available via intranet at Stonyhurst College. A French-language version is featured at the Ceccano Library in Avignon, the Cité du Livre in Aix-en-Provence's Bibliothèque Méjanes, and the Alcazar Library in Marseilles (illustration of the software at figure 6). A French version of the Leeds exhibition opened on 20 March 2010 at the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Hôtel des Invalides) in partnership with the Department of Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, featuring BnF Mss. 2663–2664 and Besançon Mss. 864–865. The Kiosque software will live on, we trust, provided that platform changes do not shorten its life in ways as yet unanticipated. Both Kiosque and Virtual Vellum are generic, work equally well on PC or Mac, and are designed to be adaptable for other exhibitions or image-based research projects. Virtual Vellum is freely available to researchers or museums and is downloadable from the project website together with a user-friendly instruction manual.

The most recent avatar of the Froissart Projects' *Nachleben* is another demonstrator, funded by the UK's Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council in association with the National Science Foundation of America. We had always envisaged Virtual Vellum (or something incorporating it) proving to be of interest to research teams rather than just to individual users. Arts and humanities scholars working on international collaborative research projects involving large-scale image collections held on local or distributed databases need from time to time to consult one another the better to explore questions of mutual interest (e.g., aspects of iconography, sundry art-historical features, definitions, and descriptions of image content, real-time comparisons of related images). As mentioned above, the Access and Data Grids afford the ideal framework and computing power for the rapid and efficient handling of large-scale collections of high-resolution images, permitting real-time, close-up scrutiny of single or juxtaposed images, using independent zooming controls and tools for hotspotting, highlighting, and blogging. Such tools were not yet available in 2007; the prospect of having the resource and expertise to develop them presented an appealing challenge.

Pegasus was inaugurated in January 2008 at Sheffield in partnership with the National Center for Supercomputing Applications based at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and with that university's departments of French and Art History. *Pegasus* is already running experiments in grid technologies and art connoisseurship applied to the Froissart digital manuscripts corpus. In a subsequent project funded jointly by the JISC, NEH and NSF,[15] algorithms are being run to determine more precisely the identities of the long-dead illus-

15. Digging into Data to Answer Authorship Related Questions: http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/hri/projects/projectpages/did_images/index.html, accessed 30 May 2011.

trators responsible for the programs of miniatures adorning these manuscripts, and to circumscribe more precisely the characteristics of their work. The project is also exploring individual manifestations of a scribal hand used in the manuscripts, with a view to placing such exploration on a more scientific basis than has hitherto been possible.

Public exhibitions and e-Science applications for the arts and humanities combining computer science solutions with high-resolution, virtual "collections" derived from less easily accessible real ones are just two of the most recent developments arising from the Froissart editorial project. They have opened up new pathways and unexpected forms of interdisciplinary partnership. Built on traditional modes of scholarship founded upon the skills of the editor-medievalist, they have fostered the widening of potential audiences and the creation of new ways of articulating to these broader publics the riches of the texts and artifacts on which, as scholars, we have the privilege to work.

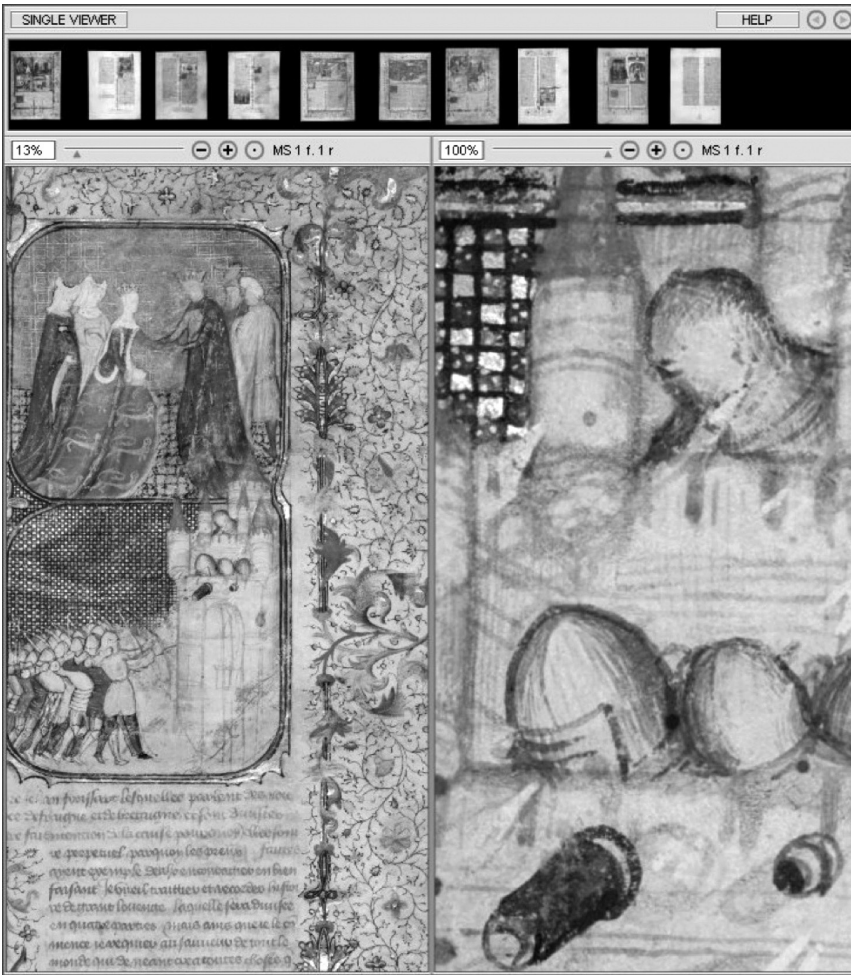

Figure 1: Illustration of the Flash-based prototype image viewer developed by Colin Dunn, showing two folios from Stonyhurst Ms. 1 side by side. Images © Stonyhurst College and Scriptura Ltd.

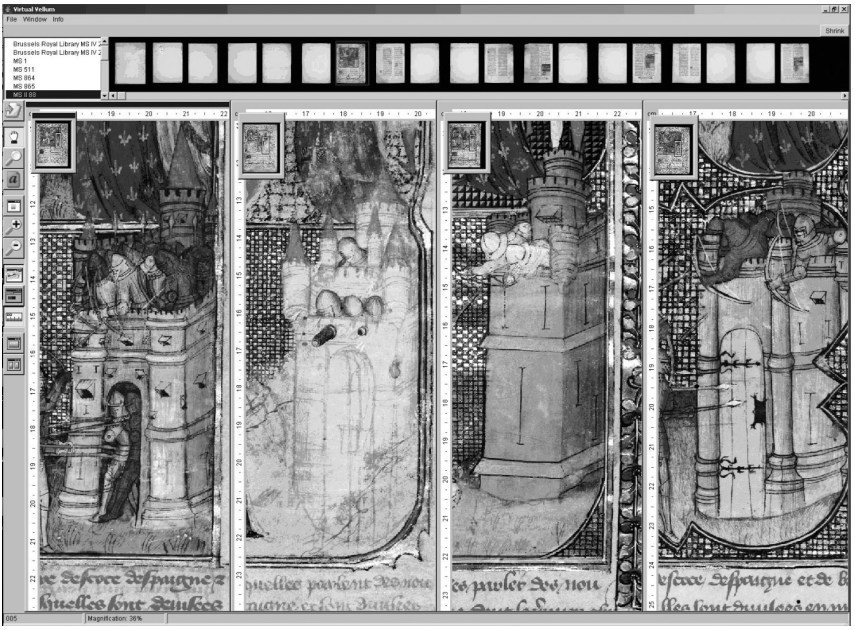

Figure 2: *Virtual Vellum* used to compare the frontispiece from four different manuscripts located at three different physical locations (magnification at only 30%). Images © Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels (left- and right-most images); Stonyhurst College, Lancashire (second from the left); Bibliothèque d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon (second from the right); and Scriptura Ltd. (digitizer of all the manuscript images).

Figure 3: Two different views of a single folio from Besançon Ms. 865. The left-hand window shows the folio in full; the right-hand window magnifies the *lettrine.* Images © Bibliothèque Municipale de Besançon and Scriptura Ltd.

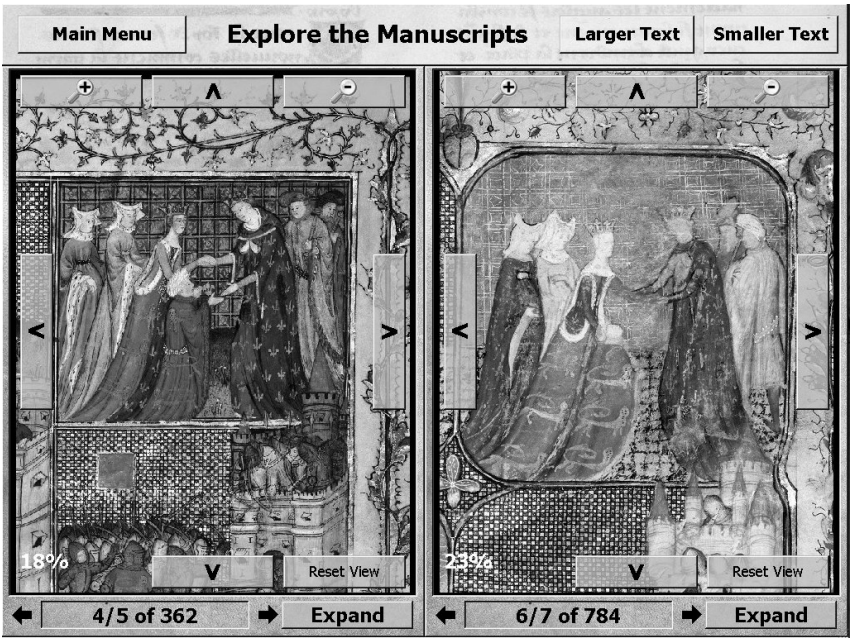

Figure 4: Within *Kiosque* users can choose and compare folios from any of the six digitized manuscripts. The left-hand window shows a folio from Brussels IV 251; the image in the right-hand window is from Stonyhurst Ms. 1. Images © Bibliothèque Royale Albert I[er], Brussels; Stonyhurst College, Lancashire; and Scriptura Ltd.

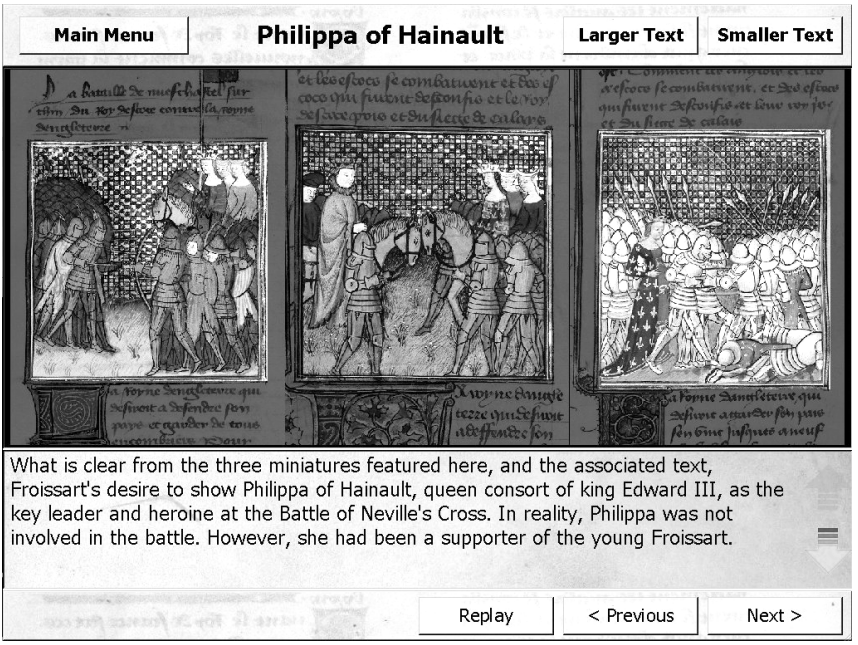

Figure 5: Describing the depiction within *Kiosque* of Philippa of Hainault at the Battle of Neville's Cross. Images © Bibliothèque Royale Albert I[er], Brussels; Stonyhurst College, Lancashire; Bibliothèque d'Étude et de Conservation, Besançon; and Scriptura Ltd.

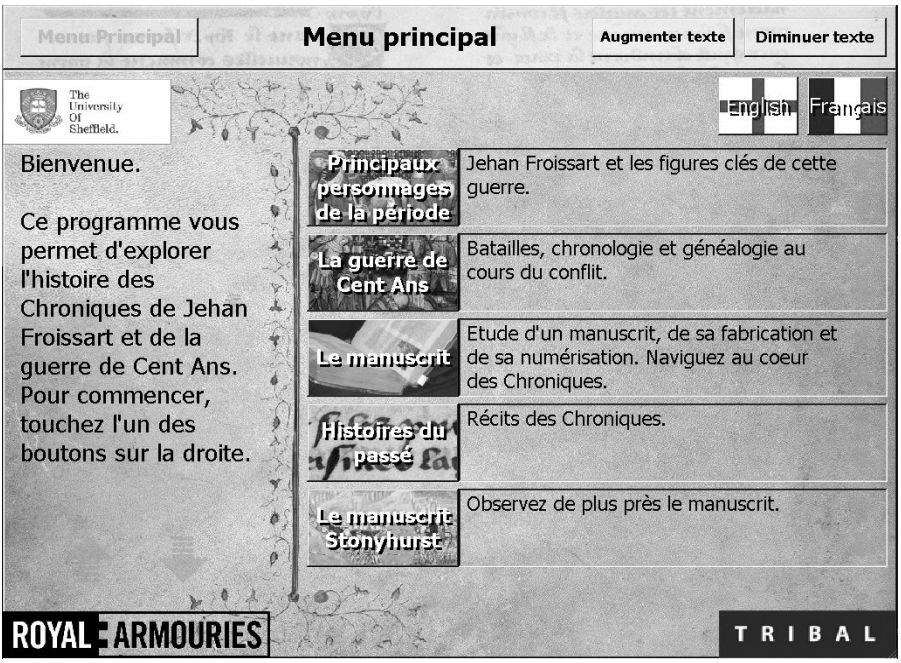

Figure 6: The *Kiosque* main menu illustrating different facets of the software and using the French language version.

CHAPTER 2

The Wings of Chivalry and the Order of Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 308

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Why are there wings on the backs of the jousting knights pictured in a miniature illustrating the copy of Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (1285) in Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 308 (figure 1), made ca. 1312?[1] This question will lead to a more general inquiry into collections in context. First, what makes a collection? Is it the intention of the makers, the decision of the owners who choose to copy or bind works together, or the perception and the interpretation by readers of works gathered in a material book? Second, how can iconographic evidence be used to understand the intentions of the makers and the cultural meanings readers might have had in mind as they read works in a collection? Finally, what are the dynamics of reading in a collection: how do readers make signifying relations between images, texts, and works in a manuscript book?

We will use these remarkable wings of the knights to inquire into the order of Ms. Douce 308, that is to say, the choice, the arrangement, and the illustrations of the works it contains, and into the cultural meanings they cite and express in the material book.[2] We will see that the iconographic motif of wings

1. Jacques Bretel. *Le tournoi de Chauvency* (1285), ed. Maurice Delbouille. Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 49 (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne—Paris: Droz, 1932; hereafter Delbouille, ed., *Le tournoi*). There are two medieval manuscripts: Mons, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 330–215, fols. 82r–105v (paper; early fourteenth c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 308, fols. 107–139 (vellum; ca. 1312). Miniatures cited from *Le tournoi* are identified by the numbers assigned in Delbouille's edition, where they are reproduced (pl. IV–XI).

2. A version in French of this article, including color reproductions of all the *Tournoi* miniatures, is forthcoming in the papers from the 2007 conference at Metz, where historians, musicologists,

in the *Tournoi* is reiterated throughout the seven works copied in five booklets,[3] all produced in Metz in the second decade of the fourteenth century and illustrated by two artists.[4] Four of these booklets comprise the Douce 308 collection and one related booklet is now in BL Harley Ms. 4972.[5]

These five booklets belonged to members of the Gronnais family, wealthy urban patricians of Metz who left marks of their ownership on several pages.[6] Four of the five booklets were bound together in Ms. Douce 308, apparently in the fifteenth century (using catchwords written in an imitation fourteenth-century hand).[7] We do know from owner signatures and a codicological link that the last booklet in Ms. Douce 308 originally included the two works now in BL Harley Ms. 4972—a moralized *Apocalypse* in French prose and an anonymous *Prophetie Sebile*—because this booklet begins with the final page of the *Prophetie Sebile* and continues with the *Tornoiemens Antecrist.*

My question is: are the strange wings of the knights painted in the *Tournoi* of Ms. Douce 308 a cue that can lead us to an intervisual and intertextual system of references that points to (or forges) a symbolic order of mythical meanings? This symbolic order could explain both the presence of these amaz-

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codicologists, and specialists in literature and art history gathered to discuss Ms. Douce 308 in its full historical context and to enjoy the splendid première of a musical performance of the *Tournoi* created by soprano Anne Azema (*Lettres, musique et société en Lorraine médiévale: Autour du* Tournoi de Chauvency *[Oxford Ms. Bodleian Douce 308]*), ed. Mireille Chazan and Nancy Freeman Regalado, Publications Romanes et Françaises 254 [Geneva: Droz, 2011]; hereafter *Lettres, musique, et société*).

3. A booklet is a fascicle or set of pages or quires containing a copy of a work or works. On the economic significance of the production of booklets and collections, see Ralph Hanna, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations," *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), pp. 100–112.

4. Alison Stones describes the miniatures of Ms. Douce 308 in *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260–1320. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* (London: Harvey Miller, forthcoming); she details the artistic productions associated with the two artists in "Le contexte artistique du *Tournoi de Chauvency,*" forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société,* pp. 151–204. I am deeply indebted to Alison Stones for giving me her description of the Ms. Douce 308 miniatures from her *Gothic Manuscripts* and for the hours we spent together studying Ms. Douce 308 in the Bodleian Library during the final meeting of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500: Medieval Manuscripts in the Vernaculars—Patrons, Readers, Cultural Contexts (7–9 July 2000).

5. Mary Atchison provides a complete codicological description of Ms. Douce 308 in *The* Chansonnier *of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308. Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 10–13, 19–34. See also Eglal Doss-Quinby and Samuel N. Rosenberg, ed. and trans., *The Old French Ballette: Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308.* Publications romanes et françaises 239 (Geneva: Droz, 2006), pp. xlv–xlvii.

6. On marks of ownership, see Delbouille, ed., Le *tournoi,* p. xiii; Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript,* 2 vols., Faux Titre 222 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 2: 722–23; and Mireille Chazan, who describes the political and social status of the owners and the place of Ms. Douce 308 in their library ("Littérature et histoire dans les bibliothèques des patriciens messins à la fin du Moyen Âge," forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société,* pp. 205–35).

7. I thank Martin Kauffmann, Keeper of Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, for this information and for giving me a copy of his Collation Structures Report of Ms. Douce 308, cited in Atchison, *The* Chansonnier, pp. 22–26.

ing wings on the backs of the knights in the *Tournoi* and the meaning of the arrangement of the works gathered in the Ms. Douce 308 collection.

I believe that the symbolic order revealed by the wings in the *Tournoi* expresses two myths: the chivalric myth of prowess inspired by love; and the spiritual myth—infinitely greater—of the idea of a chivalry that incarnates the human forces that resist evil. These myths, on the one hand, inform the poetic account of the tournament and courtly festivities at Chauvency which Jacques Bretel made for his aristocratic patrons in 1285. On the other hand, they reveal the mentality of the wealthy patrician readers in Metz (who styled themselves *chevaliers*) in the second decade of the fourteenth century for whom the *Tournoi* and other booklets now gathered in Ms. Douce 308 and Harley Ms. 4972 were made.[8]

Let us then take flight towards the larger questions about collections on the widespread wings of the knights in Ms. Douce 308. These wings are a striking and unusual motif in the fifteen miniatures that illustrate the Ms. Douce 308 *Tournoi,*[9] a grand chivalric party that took place in 1285 under the patronage of local magnates (the Counts of Bar, Luxembourg, and Chiny) at Chauvency in Lorraine near the bastion of Montmedy, about 50 km north of Verdun. There were two days of jousting and one open-field *mêlée* tournament during the six-day feast. More than 4500 verses long, the *Tournoi* is a freestanding narrative roll of honor, in which feats of arms alternate with descriptions of festive courtly entertainments, dancing, singing, and feasting, all enlivened by lyric insertions and elegant conversations, and, in Ms. Douce 308, by illustrations. The *Tournoi* poem was probably commissioned by one of the aristocratic patrons who organized the tournament, and it is one of the earliest examples of a French festival book, a record of a contemporary celebration.[10]

Jacques Bretel made his *Tournoi* to please aristocratic readers who could

8. On the writing of festive performances in early fourteenth-century France (including Ms. Douce 308), see Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Festbeschreibungen in Paris und Metz im frühen 14. Jahrhundert: Unterweisung—Ansehen—Identität—Gedächtnis," forthcoming in *Theater und Fest in Europa; Perspektiven von Identität und Gemeinschaft,* ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Matthias Warstat, and Anna Littmann (Basel: Tübingen, forthcoming).

9. I am grateful for the opportunity to consult about these images of winged knights with several art historians including Jonathan J. G. Alexander, Markus Cruse, Domenic Leo, Lucy Freeman Sandler, Pamela Sheingorn, Alison Stones, Patricia Stirnemann, Anne van Buren, and with the colleagues present at the "Collections in Context" conference.

10. Another contemporary festival book describes a tournament of 1278: Sarrasin, *Le roman du Hem,* ed. Albert Henry, Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles 9 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1939); see Nancy Freeman Regalado, "A Contract for a Festival Book: Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)," in *Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Acts and Texts,* ed. Laurie Postlewate, Ludus: Medieval and Early Renaissance Theater and Drama 8 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 249–67 and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Performing Romance: Arthurian Interludes in Sarrasin's *Le Roman du Hem* (1278)," in *Performing Medieval Narrative,* ed. E. B. Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence (Oxford: Brewer, 2005]), pp. 103–19).

enjoy his charming account of their courtly festivities. It apparently circulated beyond the borders of Lorraine, for several passages are cited about a decade later by a Picard poet named Jakemes, in his *Roman du Châtelain de Coucy et de la dame de Fayel.*[11]

Some twenty-five years after the tournament of 1285, in the second decade of the fourteenth century, a version of the *Tournoi* was copied in Metz, a wealthy city that was at that time an independent republic within the Holy Roman Empire and that was controlled by its urban patricians. The *Tournoi* and other works in Ms. Douce 308 have recently begun to be studied intensively in their literary, artistic, and social context.[12]

The four booklets in Ms. Douce 308 include works from different genres, periods, and places. (See Appendix.) Their overall unity, in my view, is that they constitute a model library of works intended for the entertainment and instruction of knights**.** The first three booklets contain four works that constitute a complete kit of secular chivalry, linking the ideals of prowess, love, and lyric savoir-faire to proper names that point to a particular aristocratic audience. They offer a literature of recreation, centered on chivalric exploits and elegantly refined pastimes of singing, dancing, and conversations about love.

These themes are played out first in *Les voeux du paon* (*The Vows of the Peacock*), composed ca. 1312 and attributed to Jacques de Longuyon, a poet of Lorraine, mentioned in the *Chansonnier.*[13] The *Vows* is an epic poem, an exotic pseudo-ancient tale that celebrates the exploits, the loves, and the exemplary feasts of the warriors of Alexander the Great and that must have fed the imperial longings of the Lotharingians as it amused them with scenes of fierce battles alternating with flowery colloquies about love and prowess as in the *Tournoi,* where the same motifs are played out in a self-consciously contemporary setting. Following the *Voeux* comes *Le bestiaire d'Amour* (*The Bestiary of Love*), composed about 1233 by Richard de Fournival of Amiens, which playfully

11. Delbouille, ed., *Le tournoi,* pp. xiv, 152.

12. See Atchison, *The* Chansonnier; Doss-Quinby and Rosenberg, *The Old French Ballette;* Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260–1320;* Regalado, "Festbeschreibungen in Paris und Metz;" and the forthcoming *Lettres, musique et société.* I am very grateful to Marie-Hélène Bellon-Méguelle for giving me a copy of her dissertation, "Du Temple de Mars à la Chambre de Vénus: le beau jeu courtois dans *Les Vœux du paon* de Jacques de Longuyon," PhD diss., Université de Genève, 2007, now published in the series "Essais sur le Moyen Âge" (Paris: Champion, 2008), and to Domenic Leo, for sending a draft of his article, "Polyphonic Thinking, Party Time: Text-Image-Marginalia in a *Voeux du Paon* Manuscript" (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. Glazier 24)."

13. Jacques de Longuyon*, Le Roman d'Alexandre,* trans. John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander,* ed. R. L. Græme Ritchie, The Scottish Text Society 12, 25 (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1921–29). Since Ms. P1 is the version found in Ms. Douce 308. I also used Brother Camillus Casey, O.S.F., ed., "Jacques de Longuyon, *Les Vœux du paon:* Edition of the Manuscripts of the P Redaction," PhD diss., Columbia University, 1956). I thank Marie-Hélène Bellon-Méguelle for sending me the *annexe* to her dissertation where she reopens debate on the date of the *Voeux* and the attribution to Jacques de Longuyon, based on the epilogue in Ms. W (Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 12565, late fourteenth century).

rewrites the didactic Christian bestiary as a lover's pleading and which offers readers a manual of courtly conversations.[14] Next comes Jacques Bretel's *Le tournoi de Chauvency* (*The Tournament at Chauvency*), composed about 1285 in Lorraine, which showcases the chivalric prowess and the charming conversations, songs, and dances of real, historical knights and ladies from the great families of North Eastern France and French-speaking Lorraine and Picardy as well as present-day Luxembourg, Belgium, and German-speaking Alsace.[15] The *Tournoi* is followed in the same booklet by a large *Chansonnier* organized by genre.[16] Composed during the first decade of the fourteenth century, the courtly songs in the *Chansonnier* might have served to enrich the lyric repertory of readers. In these lyrics reappear some of the historical names mentioned in the *Tournoi* as well as some of the inserted refrains represented as sung in the *Tournoi.*[17] At the end of Ms. Douce 308 was placed *Li tornoiemens Antecrist* (*The Tournament of the Antichrist*), a chivalric moral allegory composed by Huon de Méry in the Ile-de-France around 1234.[18] This romance-type poem is both chivalric and spiritual, for it tells of an apocalyptic tournament in which the Virtues triumph over the Vices, with the help of the archangels Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael and by the "li sires du firmament" (1. 2996; the Lord of the Firmament).

Two prophetic works (now in Harley Ms. 4972 and as yet unedited)—a moralized *Apocalypse* and *Li prophetie Sebile (The Sibyl's Prophecy*), both in prose—were illustrated by one of the same artists who worked on two booklets

14. Gabriel Bianciotto, ed. and trans., *Richard de Fournival: Le Bestiaire d'Amour et la Response de la Dame,* Champion Classiques Moyen Âge (Paris: Champion, 2009). See Nancy Freeman Regalado, "*Force de Parole:* Shaping Courtliness in Richard de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amours.*" Copied in Metz about 1312 (Ms. Oxford, Bodl. Douce 308), in *Shaping Courtliness in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Matilda Tomaryn,* ed. Daniel E. O'Sullivan and Laurie Shepard (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming).

15. On the 120 historical persons named in the *Tournoi,* see: Delbouille, ed., *Le tournoi,* pp. lxxii–ci; Juliet Vale, "The Late Thirteenth-Century Precedent: Chauvency, Le Hem, and Edward I," in *Edward III and Chivalry. Chivalric Society and Its Context 1270–1350* (Woodbury: Boydell, 1982), pp. 4–24 and Appendices 1–9; and John H. Baldwin, *Préface* to *Lettres, musique, et société,* pp. 7–24.

16. Blank leaves and owner signatures within the *Chansonnier* suggest "that each song fascicle was conceived as a separate unit" (Doss-Quinby and Rosenberg, *The Old French Ballette,* p. xlix) See also Eglal Doss-Quinby, "The Douce 308 *Chansonnier* within the Corpus of Trouvère Songbooks," forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société,* pp. 435–50; and idem, "The Visual Representation of Lyric Type in *Trouvère* Manuscript I (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308)," in "Chançon legiere a chanter": *Essays of Old French Literature in Honor of Samuel N. Rosenberg,* ed. Karen Fresco and Wendy Pfeffer (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 2007), pp. 1–25.

17. See Mary Atchison, "Two Versions of the *Tournoi de Chauvency* and their Connections to the *Chansonnier* of Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308" (pp. 71–104), and Samuel N. Rosenberg, "Le *Tournoi de Chauvency* and the *Chansonnier* du ms. Douce 308 reliés par le chant" (pp. 423–34), both forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société.*

18. Georg Wimmer and Stéphanie Orgeur, ed. and trans., *Huon de Méry, Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist,* Medievalia 13 (Orléans: Paradigme, 1994).

in Ms. Douce 308. Related by the common theme of the coming of the Antichrist, both were copied in the same booklet as the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* which starts on the verso of the last folio of the *Prophetie Sebile* (fol. 250v).

Do the works and booklets gathered in Ms. Douce 308 constitute a collection, and were the *Apocalypse moralisée* and the *Prophetie Sebile* originally part of that collection? In her 2004 edition of the *Chansonnier,* Mary Atchison suggests that Ms. Douce 308 may be "based on the development of a conceptual framework . . . which sets them as a continuum of time past, time present and time to come," progressing from the epic past of Alexander in the *Voeux* to the present of the *Tournoi* and the *Chansonnier* towards the future of the *Antecrist;* she concludes that Ms. Douce 308 may be "a carefully constructed collection of thematically related books."[19] Alison Stones affirms that the booklets were all produced in a Metz workshop, but notes that the presence of blank pages between the different sections of the manuscript "simply makes it a little unlikely that they were all intended to fit together thematically from the beginning."[20]

To address the question of the meaning of the order of Ms. Douce 308, I have begun with a contextual and cultural reading of the wings in the miniatures of the *Tournoi.* By contextual, I mean the meanings suggested by iconographic and textual evidence within the material manuscript—first, the ways the wings are painted in the Ms. Douce 308 *Tournoi;* second, the correspondences between the wings in the *Tournoi,* those we find painted or described verbally in the other works gathered in Ms. Douce 308 and in Harley Ms. 4972, and finally, meanings attributed to wings depicted or described in other medieval texts. By cultural, I mean how we imagine the images and the works in Ms. Douce 308 might have been understood by readers in Metz in the fourteenth century through the network of meanings, associations, and connotations provided by their culture.

Wings appear on the backs of knights in eight of the ten miniatures depicting jousts in the Ms. Douce 308 *Tournoi;* none, however, figure in the two miniatures representing the bloody *mêlée* tournament.[21] The arms of the knights jousting are extensively and specifically blazoned in Jacques Bretel's poem. In

19. Atchison, *The* Chansonnier, 32–33; on evidence for Ms. Douce 308 as one collection or two, see pp. 30–34. See also the review article by E. E. Leach, who points to comparable compilations incorporating the *Bestiaire d'Amour* (*Music & Letters* 87 [2006], pp. 416–20 at 417).

20. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts,* forthcoming.

21. Mins. 14 (fol. 121r) and 15 (fol. 132v). The fifteen illustrations of the *Tournoi* in Ms. Douce 308 also include two of festive dancing, Mins. 5 (fol. 114r) and 13 (fol. 123r), plus one of Jacques Bretel himself (Min. 1, fol. 107r); see Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry in Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 308)" in *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: Making and Meaning in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: Harvey Miller-Brepols, 2006), pp. 341–52.

Ms. Douce 308 coats of arms painted on shields, surcoats, and horses' housings are given great prominence in scenes that spill out into the margins. The blazons are amplified in the *Tournoi* poem by reports of battle cries that accompany lively descriptions of two days of jousts in the lists and of close fighting with swords between two teams in the open-field tournament. The Ms. Douce 308 artist corrected and supplemented the blazons in the text[22] and added fantasy crests (which are mentioned only once in the text[23])—as well as the unprecedented wings, which are not mentioned at all in the *Tournoi* poem.

The second miniature in the *Tournoi* (fol. 111r; figure 2) illustrates the first joust, where Ferri de Chardogne confronts the Seigneur de Bazentin to the right. Wings like those of angels rise up and spread out behind the shoulders of Bazentin. How can we account for these remarkable wings in the *Tournoi* miniatures?

Wings are certainly one of the possible adornments of a helmet: called a *vol,* they are one of the elements available in the repertory of motifs representing armed knights. Among the many images of single combat in the *Voeux du paon* in Ms. Douce 308, painted by the same artist who illustrated the *Tournoi,* there are five where a helmet crest is adorned with vertical wings,[24] such as that of the knight depicted in fol. 72r (figure 3) who jousts with another wearing a helmet with antlers. The miniatures illustrating the *Voeux du paon* and the *Tournoi* show the taste of the artist (and of readers) for images of armed knights, and scenes of single combat. But unlike the *Tournoi,* where the miniatures are placed at the beginning of the account of a joust or at its climax in order to display the identity of each knight in a moment of glory,[25] those of the *Voeux du paon* do not always illustrate the details of the adjoining text and show a preference for images of knights unhorsed and falling that are very different from the proudly upright stance of the knights in the *Tournoi* miniatures.

To what degree would the abundant illustrations of the *Voeux,* painted by the same artist as the *Tournoi,* have linked the two works for a reader? Perhaps

22. Delbouille, ed., *Le tournoi,* pp. lxxxii–ci and Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry."

23. "Creste sur hiaume asséz mignote" (1. 3218; a pretty crest on his helmet), a detail in the description of Joffroi d'Esch who, with Joffroi d'Aspremont, leads out the team of "cex defors" (1. 4031; the "outside" team from the castle of Montmédy). On the tournament teams at Chauvency, see Delbouille ed., *Le tournoi,* p. ix; Vale, *Edward III,* pp. 5–7; P. Moyen, "La stratégie d'Henri III de Luxembourg lors du *cembel* de Chauvency en 1285," in *Le tournoi au Moyen Âge, Actes du Colloque des 25 et 26 janvier 2002,* Cahiers du Centre d'Histoire Médiévale 2 (Lyon: Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3, 2003), pp. 75–82; and Baldwin, *Préface,* forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société.* T. Rylance was the first to offer heraldic descriptions of the Douce 308 crests ("Le Tournoi de Chauvency Roll," *The Coat of Arms 3* [1979], pp. 214–9); see also Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts*.

24. Ms. Douce 308, fols. 9r, 10r, 12v, 30r, and 72r.

25. On the positioning of the fifteen miniatures in the copy of Jacques Bretel's text in Ms. Douce 308, see Regalado, "Picturing the Story of Chivalry," p. 351n27, and Atchison, "Two Versions," pp. 78–80, 90–91.

not much beyond the common motifs of the chivalric life. The artist sprinkles a few wings here and there in the *Voeux,* but these are invariably erect and attached to helmets. Moreover, in the *Voeux* the artist paints heraldic effects rather than specific coats of arms.

The large wings unfurled behind Bazentin on the right in Min. 2 (fol. 111r; figure 2) could conceivably be an adornment of his helmet,[26] which also bears a great peacock feather that extends far out into the margin.[27] But the arrangement and placement of wings in the *Tournoi* is not identical to that of the winged crests worn by knights in the *Voeux du paon,* painted by the same artist. In Min. 12 (fol. 120r; figure 4), for example, the wings are folded down behind the helmet and back of Renaut de Trie (on the left) in contrast with those which always rise vertically from helmets in the *Voeux du paon.* The wings in the *Tournoi* may be spread wide or folded closed; in any case, they seem quite separate from the crests, as in Min. 7 (fol. 114r), where the large wings worn by Conradin Warnier to the right seem unrelated to his strange crest, where, between two branches adorned with black balls, a grotesque figure wearing a pointed hat opens his mouth in a wide grin that bares his teeth. Similarly, in Min. 8 (fol. 116r; figure 5), the folded wings behind the helmet of Joffroi d'Aspremont (to the left) are not connected to the crest, where a small fox or dog bites a very large squirrel running along a leafy branch. In Min. 10 (fol. 118v), there is a folded wing behind Wichart d'Amance (to the right), below the crest where a crowned figure raises a hand. In this miniature, a large initial B in the right-hand column left no space for the second wing. In Min. 11 (fol. 119v), the wings of Joffroi de Neuville (to the left) are rounded down and quite separate from the crest where a man bearing a bow and arrow seems to take aim at the lady who dances between two birds in the crest of his adversary Baudouin d'Aubrechicourt.[28]

Despite the separation between wings and crests and their angles (up, down, open, closed), one might still ask if the wings are an exaggerated helmet adornment if it were not for the image in Min. 4 (fol. 112v; see figure 1), where two winged knights—Milet de Til and Ferri de Sierck—face each other bareheaded, and where their helmets, adorned with plumes, hang down their backs far below their open wings.

What could be the meaning of these large wings, which seem such a unique and surprising element in these portraits of jousting knights? I believe we can

26. Rylance takes them to be eagle wings on the crest ("*Le Tournoi,*" p. 214).

27. The peacock feathers featured in crests in Mins. 2 (fol. 111r; see figure 2), 4 (fol. 112v; see figure 3), and 11 (fol. 119v) may resonate for readers with the "eiles fretilant" (l. 3879; fluttering wings) of the peacock whose death motivates exploits in the *Voeux du Paon.* See Jean-Marie Privat, "Les *Voeux du paon* et la roue des signes," forthcoming in *Lettres, musique, et société,* pp. 137–49.

28. See Min. 11 (fol. 110v). In Min. 3 (fol. 112r), where neither knight wears wings, there is a winged figure in the crest of the Seigneur de Faucogney to the left.

immediately set aside any negative connotations, such as those of the demonic winged headgear worn by Jews and evil, otherworldly creatures, famously studied by Ruth Mellinkoff.[29] And despite their proximity in Ms. Douce 308, there seems to be no association of the knights with the few threatening winged creatures in the adjacent text of the *Bestiaire d'Amour,* such as the dragon killing a man with his tongue (fol. 104v). Negative associations would not suit the spirit of Jacques Bretel's poem or the illustrations of the Ms. Douce 308 artist, which aim, at every point, to emphasize the admirable prowess of all the knights. I think we must also set aside the positive connotation suggested by Rylance to explain why in six of the ten jousting miniatures only one knight has wings.[30] Rylance thinks the wings are an emblem of victory, *Nike Pteros* (winged Victory), showing the winner of the joust.[31] In his view, a tie match would be represented either by attribution of wings to both knights as in Min. 4 (fol. 112v) or to neither as in Mins. 3 (fol. 112r), 6 (fol. 113v), and 9 (fol. 117r). However, the spirit of the *Tournoi* poem and of the illustrations in Ms. Douce 308 is entirely opposed to such an interpretation. The descriptions of the jousts celebrate with equal fervor the identity and prowess of both knights. Jacques Bretel declares twice in his poem that courtesy, and the moral intention of his poem, require a discourse of praise:

Que je vos di que il i furent
Et le pourcoi loer les durent
Cil qui les virent
. . .
Des bons, c'on ne s'en doit taisir
De bien dire a cex qui bien font.
Car li biens pas ne se desfont
Ou il est de prodomme oïs,
Ainz est améz et conjoïs.
Dont doit on bien des bons bien dire
Que miex en valent, et li pire
Aucunne fois i prenent garde.
(11. 733–745)
. . .
Et s'on m'en tient a manteor
Pour les biaus mos que g'i ajouste,

29. Ruth Mellinkoff, "Demonic Winged Headgear," *Viator* 16 (1985), pp. 367–81, figures 1–28.

30. See Mins. 2 (fol. 111r), 7 (fol. 114r), 8 (fol. 116r), 10 (fol. 118v), 11 (fol. 119v), and 12 (fol. 120v).

31. Rylance, "*Le Tournoi,*" p. 214.

Ce poise moi et plus me couste;
Et toutevoie me samble il
Qui voit le chevalier gentil
Entalenté de biau cop faire,
C'on n'en puet trop de bien retraire
(11. 2130–2136)
. . .
Car qui bel dit bel doit oïr,
Et si l'en doit on conjoïr
Pour resourt que del bien bien die
Et le mal laist par cortoisie.
(11. 2159–2162)

[I tell you that those who were there
and saw [the knights]
had reason to praise them.
. . .
No one should fail to praise good knights
or to speak well of those who do well.
For what is good is not less worthy
when it is heard by *preudomes.*
On the contrary, it is loved and welcomed.
Therefore one must speak well of the good
for thereby they are worth even more,
and sometimes the unworthy will amend.
. . .
And if anyone thinks me a liar
for the fine words I've used
I'm sorry to hear it;
And yet it seems to me
that when one sees a noble knight
eager to give a beautiful blow
one cannot overpraise
. . .
One who speaks well should be heard
with pleasure and be welcomed
in order that the good may be well spoken of
and what's bad left unsaid, out of courtesy.][32]

32. Translations mine, except where indicated.

Jacques Bretel thus consistently refuses to signal winners and losers in the jousts. Speaking of the combat between Henri de Briey and Conradin Warnier, illustrated in Min. 7 (fol. 114r), where only Conradin (to the right) wears wings, the poet says "Andoi avoient bon couraige" (l. 934; Both showed bravery). In the same spirit, the knights pose in the miniatures as if they were jousting, but each turns his shield towards the viewer, while in actual combat, the shield was slung around the neck or carried on the left arm, as in the *mêlée* tournament depicted in Min. 14 (fol. 131r).

Is it possible that the wings refer to costumes worn by knights in some jousts? In the chronicle of another contemporary tournament, *Le roman du Hem* (1278), the poet Sarrasin describes a jouster wearing an angel costume and another disguised as a devil:

Es lices entra parmi l'huis
Mesire Aumarris de Saint Cler,
Contre un angle riant et cler,
Qui portait l'escu Nevelon,
Qui de Molains a le surnon. [. . .]
Li angles venoit noblement . . . [. . .]
(ll. 2628–2633)
Messire Engherrans de Bailluel
Se met es rens, plus noirs que fer:
Ce sanloit li maistres d'infer,
Ensi comme fu aournés. [. . .]
(ll. 2224–2228)
Aimers de Noevevile errant
S'en vint sur un destrier corant
Contre monsigneur Engherran
De Bailluel, qui jousta au Han
Primes an guise d'un malfé.
(ll. 2656–2659)

[Through the doorway of the lists rode
Sir Amauy de Saint-Cler
against a laughing, shining angel
bearing the shield of Nevelon
who is called de Molains. . . .
The angel charged forward nobly. . . .
Sir Enguerran de Bailleul
enters the lists, *blacker than iron.*

He looked like the very master of Hell
because of how he was accoutered. . . .
Aimer de Neuville
. . .
charged on his warhorse
against my lord Enguerran
de Bailleul, who jousted at Le Hem
first costumed as a devil.][33]
(emphasis added)

The *Tournoi* poet Jacques Bretel does indeed compare one knight—Joffroi, Lord of Aspremont—to an angel as he leads out one of the two teams of knights to the tournament field, dressed splendidly in his heraldic garb of red samite with a silver cross (*gules* a cross *argent*) (see figure 5):

Tous fu covert de soie fine
Si riche que trop me mervoil,
Ca ce fu d'un samis vermoil
A une crois d'argent desus.
Angles sambloit qui soit issus
De paradis novellement
Pour aler au tornloiment.
(11. 3234–3240)

[[Jouffroi] was entirely clad in fine silk
so rich it was a wonder
for it was made of samite
gules a cross *argent*
He looked like an angel
just come from Paradise
to go to the tournament.]
(emphasis added)

Jacques Bretel uses the same comparison for Bekart de Maisey in lines omitted in the Ms. Douce 308 version of the *Tournoi:* "Ausi com angles enpennéz / Estoit armés d'armes vermoilles" (11. 1460–1; Like a winged angel he was armed in bright red). It seems to be a commonplace to compare a knight to an angel in order to evoke in the imagination of contemporary readers the beauty of a male armed for combat. Readers who knew Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval:*

33. Sarrasin, *Le roman du Hem,* pp. 72–73.

Le conte du Graal might well have remembered the famous passage where young Perceval thinks that the knights he sees for the first time are angels:

> Et quant il les vit en apert
> Que du bois furent descovert,
> Et vi les haubers fremïans
> Et les elmes clers et luisans,
> Et vit le blanc et le vermeil
> Reluire contre le soleil,
> Et l'or et l'azur et l'argent
> Si li fu molt bel et molt gent,
> Et dist "Ha! sire Diex, merchi!
> Ce sont angles que je vois chi!
>
> [Then, when [Perceval] had a clear view of them once they had emerged from the woods, and when he saw the glittering hauberks and the bright, gleaming helmets and the lances and shields, which he had never seen before, and saw the white and the scarlet shining in the sunlight and all that gold, sky-blue and silver, he was charmed and delighted and exclaimed: "Ah! God have mercy on me! These are angels I here see"].[34]

But I do not think we are meant to understand the wings of the knights in the *Tournoi* as elements of real costumes, suggested by Sarrasin's phrases in *Le roman du Hem:* "Ce sanloit" or "en guise de" (11. 2226 and 2651; it seemed, costumed as), but rather as symbolic images pointing to two levels of meaning: one secular and courtly, the other spiritual.

Meanings in vernacular literature are deepened by contextualization, by illustration, by compilation, and by intertextual references, not by commentary, for secular compositions are not usually glossed. The marginal notes we find in Ms. Douce 308 are marks of ownership, not of interpretation. Yet just as text and image on a page can be read together in a variety of ways, readers can find signifying relationships between works juxtaposed in a compilation

34. William Roach, ed., *Le roman de Perceval,* Textes Littéraires Français (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Minard, 1959), 11. 1339–50; trans. D. D. R. Owen, *Chrétien de Troyes. Arthurian Romances,* Everyman (London: J. M. Dent, 1993). I thank Francine Mora for sending me a draft of her article, "La mise en scène de la culture de cour dans le *Roman de la Violette* de Gerbert de Montreuil," in which she cites the comparison the poet makes between the host of knights parading toward the tournament at Montargis and winged angels: "Des chevaliers qui viennent samblent / Que chou soient angele empené" (Gerbert de Montreuil, *Le roman de la Violette ou de Gerart de Nevers,* ed. Douglas Labaree Buffum [Paris: Champion, 1928], 11. 5905–6). I thank also Charlotte Bauer who pointed out a distant echo of the winged knights of Ms. Douce 308 in representations of a winged Byzantine emperor found in the thirteenth-century images described by Henry Maguire in "The Heavenly Court," *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204,* ed. Henry Maguire (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks), pp. 247–58 at 252–55.

because they are received together by readers in a mental process I have called reciprocal reading.[35] Reciprocal reading in compilations is cued by similarities in textual and illustrative motifs, by recurrences of proper names of places and people, by allusions, and by the order in which works are compiled. Such cues are a precious resource to discover what readers might have had in their minds as they read. The Ms. Douce 308 collection offers a number of such possible intertextual and intervisual cues. What meanings might a reader find or attribute to the *Tournoi* wings through reciprocal reading of the works in Ms. Douce 308?

To consider the courtly meanings of the wings, readers of Ms. Douce 308 might have recalled *Le roman des eles* (*The Romance of the Wings*), composed by Raoul de Hodenc a century earlier, about 1210.[36] The *Roman des eles* is a moral allegory that teaches the attributes of chivalry through the figure of the two wings of the helmet of Prowess: Liberality and Courtesy.

Readers of Ms. Douce 308 are emphatically reminded of the *Roman des eles* because there is an explicit reference to it in the description of the helmet of the allegorical figure of Courtesy in Huon de Méry's *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* the last work in the Ms. Douce 308 compilation:

Qui de Cortoisie ot .II. eles,
Ou ot autant panes et teles,
Com Raol de Hodenc raconte,
Qui des .II. eles fis .I. conte
Ou aconta sans mesconter
XIIII. panes, dont monter
Puet Cortoisie jusqu'as nues.
(11.1845–1851)

[For Courtesy's [helmet] had two wings
with the same number of like feathers
as Raoul de Hodenc tells
in his tale of the two wings
where he counts up without miscounting
fourteen feathers, which can
carry Courtesy right up to the skies.]

35. I have developed the concept of reciprocal reading in my study of Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 146 as a complex and strongly unified collection. See Nancy Freeman Regalado, "The *Chronique métrique* and the Moral Design of Paris, BnF MS Fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146,* ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 467–94.

36. Keith Busby, ed. and trans., *Raoul de Houdenc, Le roman des eles; The Anonymous Ordene de chevalerie.* Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature 17 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1983).

In Raoul de Hodenc's *Roman des eles* each wing has seven feathers corresponding to the social practices and moral qualities necessary to a knight: to be generous, to honor the Church, to avoid boasting, etc. Lucy Freeman Sandler suggested to me that the figure of the wings of Prowess recalls the mnemonic diagram of virtues in Alan of Lille's late twelfth-century Latin treatise on penance, *De sex alis Cherubim* (*On the six wings of the Seraph*),[37] as well as the famous double image that illustrates the *Summa de vitiis,* a work on penance by Guillaume Peraldus (about 1236) in BL Harley Ms. 3244, fols. 27v–28r, where a knight armed with emblems of Christian virtues brandishes his lance in the face of a tableau of sixty-nine monsters that represent the Vices.[38] This knight, in turn, recalls associations with the rich imagery of allegorical armor laid out by St. Paul in Ephesians 6:13–17: "Therefore take the whole armor of God, that you may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having girded your loins with truth, and having put on the breastplate of righteousness and having shod your feet with the equipment of the gospel of peace; above all taking the shield of faith, with which you can quench all the flaming darts of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." In the context of the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* however, the image of Courtesy's helmet offers not Christian didacticism, but secular instruction in chivalric conduct. The feathers of Courtesy in Raoul de Hodenc's *Roman des eles,* cited in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* urge knights to practice courtly virtues, to honor the Church, and to avoid pride, boasting, envy, and slander. The fourth feather in the *Roman des eles* advises the knight "to become learned in love" by enjoying courtly pastimes.

Que nus cortois ne doit blasmer
Joie, mes toz jors joie amer,
Et entre les esjoïssanz
Fere joie, et estre joianz
De lor solaz et de lor vie;
Quar chevalier est cortoisie
Qu'il oie volentiers chançons,
Notes et viëles et sons

37. I am warmly grateful to Lucy Freeman Sandler for pointing out this analogy, as well as showing me the translation of *De sex alis Cherubim* by Bridget Balint, "On the Six Wings of the Seraph," in *The Medieval Craft of Memory,* ed. Mary J. Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 83–102 and figure 4.1 (p. 88) which reproduces the diagram of New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library Ms. 416, fol. 8r.

38. Image reproduced in Michael Evans, "An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's Summa of Vice: Harleian MS 3244," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982), pp. 14–68, figures 2–3, where he cites other images of the *miles Christianus.*

Et deduit de menestereus.
(11. 317–325)

[I should say what the fourth feather is and of what it is made. It is that no courteous person should condemn joy, but always love it, make joy among the joyful, and rejoice at their pleasure and their life; it is courtesy for a knight to listen willingly to songs, melodies, vielles, airs, and the entertainments of minstrels.][39]

These courtly pastimes listed in the *Roman des eles* are thoroughly illustrated in Ms. Douce 308 for an audience that preferred stories to didactic diagrams: first in the many love scenes in the *Voeux du paon* and the lover's talk in the *Bestiaire d'Amour,* and even more particularly in the festive scenes of the *Tournoi,* animated by knights and ladies singing and dancing, heralds making speeches about love and prowess during the jousts and the tournament, and in Jacques Bretel's final "sarmons d'armez / Mellé d'amors et de ses charmes" (11. 4309–10; sermon about arms mingled with the charms of love), all echoed by the courtly lyrics in the *Chansonnier* that follows the *Tournoi.*

These same love motifs reappear at the end of Ms. Douce 308 in the allegorical combat between Virtues and Vices in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* in the episode where the narrator is injured by an arrow of Love that passes through his eye to wound his heart. The narrator invokes the eloquence of Chrétien de Troyes as he swoons into a vision where Venus takes him in her arms and Love restores him with a potion of Hope:

Mes qui le voir dire en vodroit,
Crestïens de Troies dist miex
Du cuer navré, du dart, des ex,
Que je ne vos porroie dire.
. . .
Atant s'asirent environ,
Et la dïesse en son giron
Me tint le chief por aleiance.
. . .
Amours m'aporta d'Esperance
Une merveilleuse poison.
(11. 2600–2661)

[Whoever tries to say the truth about it,

39. Busby, ed. and trans., *Le roman des eles,* p. 106.

Chrétien de Troyes spoke better
about the wounded heart, the arrow, the eyes
than ever I could.
. . .
Everyone sat around me [in Venus's tent]
and the goddess held my head
in her lap to ease my pain.
. . .
Love brought me Hope,
a marvelous potion.]

In the context of allusions in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* to well-known works such as the *Roman des eles* and the romances of Chrétien de Troyes, and considered together in Ms. Douce 308 with the *Voeux du paon,* the *Bestiaire d'Amour* and the love lyrics in the *chansonnier,* the wings of the knights in the *Tournoi* can thus be read as a visual symbol of courtesy, that is, of chivalry inspired by love.

One further association may be added from our cultural memory. The Lover in the *Roman de la Rose* compares the God of Love to an angel: "Il semblait que ce fust uns anges / qui fust touz jorz venuz dou ciau" (11. 899–900; it seemed as if he were an angel come from heaven).[40] *Amors* is almost always depicted with wings in illustrations of the *Roman de la Rose*[41] and in the works it inspired, such as the *Roman de Fauvel* in BnF Ms. fr. 146 (ca. 1316), as in the miniature where Fauvel addresses the God of Love (figure 6).[42] In the *Tournoi,* it is as if Love's wings had multiplied and come to alight on the shoulders of these jousters whose chivalric exploits are all said to be inspired by love. This is the lesson spoken to the ladies in the grandstand by the herald Maignien who weeps to see Henri de Briey and Conradin Warnier both knocked off their horses during their joust:

Car d'amor ont le movement
De hardement et de proesce,
De cortoisie et de largesce.
(11. 992–994)

40. Armand Strubel, ed. and trans., *Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, Le Roman de la Rose,* Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Librarie Générale Française, 1992).

41. I thank Meradith McMunn most warmly for confirming this motif in her encyclopedic repertory of *Rose* illustrations.

42. See *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain* [facsimile edition of BnF Ms. fr. 146], ed. Edward Roesner; Introduced by François Avril, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Edward Roesner (New York: Broude Brothers, 1990).

[For from love springs
their courage and prowess
their courtesy and liberality.]

The jousting miniatures in Ms. Douce 308 such as Min. 2 (fol. 111r; see figure 2) and Min. 12 (fol. 120; see figure 4) thus show us the whole ethos of chivalry and the cultural construct of prowess, depicting the aristocratic women spectators, the herald who supervises and comments on the joust, and the knights in their moment of glory, always and ever inspired by love. The context of the collection could well reinforce the courtly significance of the unusual wings of the knights in the *Tournoi* when these are read with the *Voeux,* the *Bestiaire,* the *Chansonnier,* and the *Tornoiemens Antecrist.*

Did the artist have such meanings in mind, however, as he painted the miniatures on the folios of the *Tournoi,* overlaying the chivalric image conveyed by winged knights with the larger symbolic wingspread of *Amors*? Were such associations a common coin that would have been grasped by readers of the single booklet containing the *Tournoi* and *Chansonnier* before it was bound into Ms. Douce 308? Or is the explicit, intertextual reference to the *Roman des eles* in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* an essential trigger for a retrospective interpretation of the courtly significance of the wings in the *Tournoi* in the context of the Ms. Douce 308 collection?

Moreover, to what degree does the last work in Ms. Douce 308, the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* point readers of the collection towards spiritual, religious concerns as well as courtly matters? What might have been the impact on readers enjoying all these courtly pastimes when they turned the last leaf of the *chansonnier*—there where the sweet music of the last *rondeau* is stilled: "Puez ca uous ai faillit brunete iamais autre namerai" (fol. 248r; Since I have lost you, my little brunette, I'll never love another)[43]—and came upon the recto beginning of the next quire (fol. 250r), which contains the final page of the *Prophetie Sebile* and a striking image of the Last Judgment, where Christ in a mandorla raises his hands while two winged angels sound trumpets from the sky and five shrouded figures rise up from their open tombs below?

Is it possible to go even further? What if the booklets now gathered in Ms. Douce 308 and Harley Ms. 4972 were not just created at the same time and illustrated by the same two artists, but were also gathered and read together at some point, so that after the last rondeau of the *chansonnier,* readers would have come upon the *Apocalypse moralisée,* which precedes the *Prophetie Sebile* in Harley Ms. 4972? There the reader would have seen other wings, the ter-

43. Atchison, ed., *The* Chansonnier, p. 569, No. 101, on fol. 248r, which is followed by three blank page sides at the end of the quire.

rible wings of the angels pouring the seven golden bowls of the wrath of God onto a devastated world. It might have seemed as if a curtain were raised to reveal terrifying scenes of the Apocalypse behind the chivalric feats and joyful feasts in the *Tournoi.* Beyond the wings of the knights at Chauvency, the reader would have seen the wings of the angels of the *Apocalypse* unfolding in almost half of the miniatures of the text now in Harley Ms. 4972 (39/97). And beyond the joyful refrains of the *Chansonnier* and the *Tournoi*—like that sung so gaily by the Countess of Luxembourg, guest of honor at the feast—"An si bone compaignie—Doit on bien joie mener." (1, 3118, Ref. 18; In such fine company, one must surely make joy)—over that tinkling song in the readers' minds would have boomed the great voice of Revelation 1:8, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending,"[44] and over the wings on the jousting knights of Chauvency would rise wingèd angels sounding trumpets and crying woe to mankind: "Et li quars angeles sona la busine & la tierce partie dou soloil & de la lune & des estoiles est forme d'obscurtei ansi com elle pert ne vi on jor ne nuit & je vi & oi la voix de l'angele volant parmi lo ciel & dist a grant voix 'Ve Ve Ve az habitans an terre.'" (Harley Ms. 4972, fol. 15v; Rev .8:13) [And the fourth angel blew his trumpet and a third of the sun and of the moon and of the stars was darkened; a third of the day and the night shone not. Then I looked, and I heard an angel flying in mid-heaven and crying with a loud voice "Woe, woe, woe, to those who dwell on the earth."][45]

How might readers have bridged the gulf between the secular chivalric revels of the *Voeux du paon,* the *Tournoi* and the *Chansonnier* and the Christian horrors of Revelation? The wings of the knights might have aided the reader by the force of thematic associations, strengthened by the order of the works in the collection: first courtesy, then spiritual lessons shaped by apocalyptic revelation, clad in familiar chivalric dress.

A number of the frightful apparitions in the *Apocalypse moralisée* have knightly attributes that would have been well known to readers in fourteenth-century Metz, such as the coat of mail and the gesture of the raised arm, brandishing the sword, of the locusts, portrayed as evil knights mounted on winged monsters (figure 7):

> Et les locustes resamplerent chevaus aparillies an bataille & sor les chiefs avoient comme corones qui resambloient d'or & lor face ausi comme d'ome & avoient chavous ausi comme de feme & haubers ausi comme de fer & la voix de lor eilles ausi comme cours de mains chevaus qui courent an bataille & avoient coies ausi comme escorpion & pointes az coies & lor pooirs est

44. "Apres ce demonstret qui est coumencemens & fin qui est & fut & est avenir" (fol. 3r).
45. Translation adapted from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

de nuire a la gent .v. mois & avoient roi sor aus, l'angle de l'abisme, l'angle exterminator.

Par les chevals aparillies an bataille est signifiez l'orguels & la fiertez az disciples Antecrist. Par les corones ausi comme d'or & la face comme d'ome est signifiee double ypocrise, une an lor doctrine & l'autre an lor vie. Par lor chavous comme de feme est signifiez que il sont mout legiers atorner an chascuns visce. [. . .] Par lor haubert k'est de fer est signifiez lor duretee. Par lou son des eles lor grant bobans de la seurteit que il ont. Par les coies comme de scorpions sont signifiez les tempores choses por coi il deceveront & par coi il destrandront les tyrans. Li angele de l'abisme ceu est ly dyaubles qui ait paour az cuers terriens. (Rev. 9:7–11; Harley Ms. 4972, fols. 16v–17r)

[In appearance the locusts were like horses arrayed for battle; on their heads were what looked like crowns of gold; their faces were like human faces, their hair like women's hair; they had scales like iron breastplates, and the noise of their wings was like the noise of many chariots with horses rushing into battle; they have tails like scorpions, and stings, and their power of hurting men for five months lies in their tails. They have as king over them the angel of the bottomless pit. (RSV translation)

The horses arrayed for battle signify the pride of the Antichrist's followers. Their crowns like gold and their faces like men's signify a double hypocrisy, one in their beliefs and the other in their way of life. Their hair like women's signifies that they are freely given to all vices [. . .] Their hauberk like iron signifies their hardness. The sound of their wings their arrogant certainty. Their tails like scorpions signify temporal things by which they deceive and destroy tyrants. The angel of the abyss is the devil who inspires fear in mortal hearts.]

Just as some treatises on chivalry such as the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie* (ca. 1220) or Ramon Llull's *Libre qui és de l'orde de Cavalleria* (ca. 1275) allegorized chivalric armor, inspired by the metaphors of Ephesians 6**,** so too the moralizations of the Harley *Apocalypse* translate images of such fantastic warriors from the other world into a moral discourse on vice to serve knightly readers in this world.[46]

The image of the dragon from the *Bestiaire d'Amour* in Ms. Douce 308 reappears in the *Apocalypse moralisée* as a winged beast, "li anciens serpens qui est appeleis dyables" (fol. 22r; the old serpent who is called the devil), thrown

46. Busby, ed. and trans., *Le roman des eles,* pp. 89–90, and Evans, "An Illustrated Fragment," pp. 19–20, both note other vernacular texts where chivalric armor is allegorized, including Guiot de Provins, *L'armeüre du chevalier* (ca. 1209); Jouham de la Chapele de Blois, *Le conte du Baril* (ca. 1220); Robert de Blois, *L'enseignement des princes* (ca. 1250).

down and vanquished by the lance and shield of St. Michael, the winged archangel, whose head is protected by a halo rather than a helmet (figure 8). On the verso side of this same fol. 22, wings reappear as a sign of spirituality and of divine protection in the image of the Woman in Revelations 12 who was given ".ii. elles grans d'aigles pour voler ou desert" (Rev. 12:113–14, two great eagle wings so that she might fly from the serpent into the wilderness). Such images, Suzanne Lewis suggests in her study of illuminated Apocalypses, might well have served as objects of personal meditation;[47] they were perhaps familiar to readers in the world of Metz for whom these booklets were made and bound.

The *Apocalypse moralisée* and the *Prophetie Sebile* may have been separated from the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* before Ms. Douce 308 was bound in the fifteenth century. But readers of Ms. Douce 308 in Metz would have encountered the striking image of the Last Judgment on the recto side of fol. 250r, and read the final lines of *the Prophetie* which announce the Apocalypse and which were copied in strongly marked Lotharingian "dialectal garb" which might have had special visual and aural resonance for readers in Metz:[48] "Toutes choses seceront. Lai terre brisiee persistrait. Les fontaines et li fluves seront brulei de feu & lai buisine laixerait son sont. Adonc seront agemissements [. . .] Et li mauvais iront el feu permmablement. Li droituries recevront le guerridon de lai permenable vie. Et li cielz serait nus. Et lai terre nue. Et lai meir reserait mies & nostre sires regnerait avoc ces sains par les siecles des siecles. Amen" (All things will perish. The earth will remain destroyed. The springs and rivers will be burned by fire and the trumpet will cease to sound. Then there will be groanings [. . .] And the wicked will go forever into the fire. The righteous will receive the reward of everlasting life. And there will be no more sky and no more earth. And the seas will be no more, and Our Lord will reign with his saints now and forever. Amen.)[49]

On the verso side of fol. 250, the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* begins with a miniature showing a man writing the words of the *troveres* (1. 2), the poet who tells the story to follow, thus recalling the production of the manuscript that the

47. Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. xxii. Lewis cites as an innovation in pictorial narrative the illustration of the woman receiving the gift of wings in the Metz Apocalypse, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. Salis 38, fol. 18r, destroyed in 1944 (*Reading Images,* pp. 127–28 and figure 95).

48. Busby, *Codex and Context,* II, 722–24.

49. I thank Elizabeth Wright and Keith Busby most warmly for their assistance in transcribing and translating the *Prophetie Sebile;* I am grateful to Julien Abed for invaluable information about the place of the *Prophetie Sebile* within the medieval French prophetic tradition and for sending me his article "Reading the Voice of the French Tiburtine Sibyl," in *In Search of the Medieval Voice: Expressions of Identity in the Middle Ages,* ed. Lorna Bleach et al. (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 147–61.

reader holds in his hand. It is this reader of Douce 308 who could have recalled both the courtly and the spiritual meanings of wings as he gazed at the chivalric illustrations of the *Voeux du paon,* the *Tournoi,* and the *Tornoiemens Antecrist.* The order of the booklets in Douce 308 could regulate readers' understanding in this way, because the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* is placed last in the manuscript, and in it chivalric display and spiritual iconography are joined.

This popular story of an allegorical tournament between the Vices and Virtues ties the knightly feats and festive revels at Chauvency to the themes of the Apocalypse and reconciles them by showing chivalry triumphant in a vast framework of Christian eschatology.[50] One-third of the 3544 verses of the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* are given over to a richly allegorized description of the arms of the Vices and Virtues (11. 533–1223, 1255–394, and 1498–2015), in contrast with the psychomachia staged as scenes of chivalric combat, which fill only one-fourth of the verses (11. 2084–2990). The shields of the Virtues and Vices in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* are even more encrusted with heraldry than those of the knights in the *Tournoi,* but unlike these, which portray noble identities, the arms of Vices and Virtues are entirely blazoned with moral and spiritual allegories that tell readers what deeds they must do to achieve salvation as servants of God.[51] Thus, the arms of Virginity are decorated with winged angels embellishing her angelic purity:

Ele ot hiaume d'umilité
A I. fort cercle d'inocence
Doré de nette concïence,
S'ot blanches armes, ce m'est vis,
Pour ce qu'as anges de parvis
Est cosine, si com moi semble,
Et que virginité resemble
Les anges com leur suer germeine
En sa lance, ou ot fer d'Andaine,
Ot portrez petiz angeloz,
Onques glaives ne javeloz
Ne fu plus cointes ne plus genz
Car trop estoit fins li argenz,
Ou il erent assis et paint.

50. The *Tornoiemens Antecrist* served as the matrix framing Chaillou de Pesstain's *addicions* to the *Roman de Fauvel* in BnF Ms. fr. 146. See Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, BnF fr. 146)," *Gesta: International Center of Medieval Art* 32 (1993), pp. 135–46.

51. In *Gothic Manuscripts,* Alison Stones describes the profuse heraldic details in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist.*

Volanz les fist cil qui les paint
D'or et d'azur sour blanc argent
S'en firent plus bel et plus gent.
(11.1530–1546)

[[Virginity] wore a helmet of Humility
well banded with Innocence
gilded with Clean Conscience;
she bore white arms, I believe,
because she is cousin
to the angels in Paradise, I think.
For Virginity resembles
angels as if she were their sister.
On her lance tipped with iron of Andernas[52]
were painted little angels.
No sword or spear
was more lovely or fine,
for it was on a background of pure silver,
that the little angels were placed and painted.
He who painted them showed them flying
with gold and azure on white silver
to make them more beautiful and fine.

If wings in the *Tournoi* allude to the courtly qualities necessary for a knight, those in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* point to the spiritual worth of a chivalry dedicated to the fight against evil and the Vices, as in the image of Saint Michael with full armor, shield, and winged helmet,[53] overthrowing the Antichrist (fol. 277r; figure 9). Such a vision of the spiritual force of chivalry is fully carried out in Ms. Douce 308 by the final victory of the archangels led by "li sires du firmament" (the Lord of the firmament), armed and mounted like the earthly knights in the *Tournoi* (1. 2996, fol. 277v; figure 10).

Readers' understanding of transcendent spiritual meanings of wings was probably not altered when the *Apocalypse moralisée* was separated from the last booklet of Ms. Douce 308. Themes from the Apocalypse could have been familiar to every medieval reader, for knowledge of the Bible in the Middle Ages did not depend on the presence of the book but on texts and images known

52. Allusion to the city of the epic hero, Guibert d'Andernas (Wimmer and Orgeur, ed. and trans., *Le Tournoi de l'Antéchrist,* p. 49n45).

53. "Car le hiaume a eles portret / Li a si estroué et fret / Que les elles en fet voler" (11. 2955–7; For the Antichrist had so pierced and broken [Saint Michael's] helmet adorned with wings that he made the wings fly off).

through sermons and the liturgy to all who lived in the Christian community. In Ms. Douce 308, however, we are considering the dynamics of reading in a collection and the possible effect of proximities within a material book.

The presence of the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* at the end of the manuscript ensured that every reader would have been vividly aware of apocalyptic images. Proximities in Ms. Douce 308 could have launched the process we call reciprocal reading, where images and their meanings are recalled, compared, and considered in readers' minds as they turned the pages of works in a collection. Indeed, Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet has described a new style of reading—*viseter* (leafing through)—that begins to be practiced in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century as vernacular books and compilations become more readily available to lay readers.[54] Such leafing through favors the intervisual effects of a collection on readers who turn its pages. When read together with the images of the *Tornoiemens Antecrist,* the wings of the knights in the *Tournoi* miniatures could thus well have taken on religious meanings beyond their courtly and chivalric connotations in the reader's mind, for the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* overlays the visual motif of wings in the Ms. Douce 308 *Tournoi* with a spiritual meaning beyond the secular courtly spirit. Framed by an intervisual and intertextual network of cultural meanings in Ms. Douce 308 and in their world, the *Tournoi* wings could thus offer both a human and a spiritual response to the frightful vision of the *Apocalypse* by linking the chivalric feats of Chauvency to the combat between good and evil.

The significant correspondences between the wings depicted in the various works gathered in Ms. Douce 308 are not necessarily the result of the intention of the authors, copyists, artists, and compilers who participated in the production of each part of this manuscript. The intervisual effect is carried out by the gaze of readers who can compare illustrations as they turn the pages and who know the possible cultural meanings that might arise from reiterated images of wings.

Such an effect depends not only on what is on the pages but also on what is in readers' minds, on their knowledge of cultural connotations associated with iconographic motifs such as wings, and which may be signaled by repetitions, juxtapositions, and explicit allusions (as when the *Tornoiemens Antecrist* cites the *Roman des eles*) or perhaps also by the impact of surprise, the unexpected appearance of wings on the shoulders of the knights in the *Tournoi,* which could make the reader think deeply!

Pamela Sheingorn and Robert L. A. Clark have proposed the term "performative reading" to describe the work of readers who produce meanings from

54. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "L'imaginaire du livre à la fin du Moyen Âge; Pratiques de lecture, théorie de l'écriture," *Modern Language Notes* 108 (1993), pp. 680–95 at 684.

the elements laid out on manuscript pages by copyists and artists and gathered by compilators and owners.[55] It is, finally, in the mind of the readers of Ms. Douce 308 that possible associations can be created between the wings of the *Tournoi* knights and those of the archangels in the *Tornoiemens Antecrist.* The *mentalité*—the worldview and cultural beliefs of readers in Metz in the fourteenth century—is revealed by the works collected in Ms. Douce 308 which contributed to form that very worldview and in which its readers found the courtly and spiritual myths that they knew and lived out.

Readers in the twenty-first century may find yet another possibility in the images and texts gathered in the Ms. Douce 308 collection: that of knowing the world of these medieval readers, knowledge that a material book can convey. This pathway to knowledge of the past is depicted in the image of a thoughtful reader within Ms. Douce 308 itself (figure 11). It illustrates the passage in the *Bestiaire d'Amour,* where Richard de Fournival praises reading, saying "Quant on ot .i. romans lire, on entent les aventures, ausi com on les veïst en present les fais des proudommes ki sa an arriere furent, ausi com il fuissent presant" (fol. 86v; When one listens to a story read, one hears the adventures, just as if one saw them in the present). The figure in the image looks up from the history of Troy he is reading in his book to see the Trojan soldiers advancing towards him "as if they were present." In her fine pages on the Ms. Douce 308 *Bestiaire* where she reproduces this wonderful image, Sylvia Huot shows how Richard de Fournival and the Ms. Douce 308 artist draw our attention to the material book in our hand by pointing to the impact of reading stories and looking at pictures.[56]

The thoughtful readers of Ms. Douce 308 whom we have imagined not only perform the works by their reading: their reading is also essential to its meaning as a collection. The booklets gathered in Ms. Douce 308 reveal the tastes and beliefs of a class and a region as they tell stories about the practices and meaning of chivalry. The *mentalité* of these readers of fourteenth-century Metz is both shaped and revealed by the books they read, owned, handed down, and eventually bound together and by the illustrations they commissioned from two artists working together in their city. And it is in these works, this book, that they learned and affirmed the courtly and spiritual myths that they knew and lived out to the full.

The patron who commissioned the original *Tournoi* wanted a book that

55. Robert L. A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn, "Performative Reading: Experiencing through the Poet's Body in Guillaume de Digulleville's *Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist,*" *Cultural Performances in Medieval France. Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado,* ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns, Gallica 5 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007), pp. 135–51.

56. Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 170–71 and figure 12.

set forth admirable examples of chivalric conduct, one that showed a circle of real knights and ladies at their best: "Dont doit on bien des bons bien dire" (1. 743; One must speak well of the good), said Jacques Bretel. This dimension of cultural values is increased in Ms. Douce 308 where illustrations enrich the experience of seeing, an experience that is so important in Jacques Bretel's poem. The patrons of the works collected in Ms. Douce 308, however, aimed higher than worldly glory; they asked also for a book that led to revelation and that could engage chivalric readers in the mighty struggle for salvation.

The experience of reading in the manuscript context thus lends resonance to each of the works in the collection. By means of the intertextual and intervisual network of images I have described, the wings in the *Tournoi* link the knights and ladies at Chauvency and the wealthy bourgeois of Metz to a book that offers the ideal of the model knight and an exalted spiritual vision of chivalry.

APPENDIX

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 308: 4 booklets, illustrated and bound

A = Jacques de Longuyon, *Les vœux du paon* (*The Vows of the Peacock*): epic *laisses;* Lorraine; ca. 1312; **Artist 1**

B = Richard de Fournival, *Le bestiaire d'Amour* (*The Bestiary of Love*): prose; Amiens; mid-thirteenth century; **Artist 2**

C = Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency* (*The Tournament at Chauvency*): verse; Lorraine; 1285; **Artist 1**
Chansonnier. 504 courtly lyrics (430 *unica*) without music: Lorraine, after 1309; **Artist 1**

•

D = Last page of *Li prophetie Sebile* (*The Sibyl's Prophecy*): prose; Lorraine; **Artist 2**
Huon de Méry, *Li tornoiemens Antecrist* (*The Tournament of the Antichrist*): verse; Ile-de-France/Normandy, ca. 1234; **Artist 2**

• **BL Harley Ms. 4972:** 1 booklet illustrated and bound.
Moralized *Apocalypse:* prose; Lorraine; **Artist 2**
Li prophetie Sebile (*The Sibyl's Prophecy*): prose; Lorraine; **Artist 2**

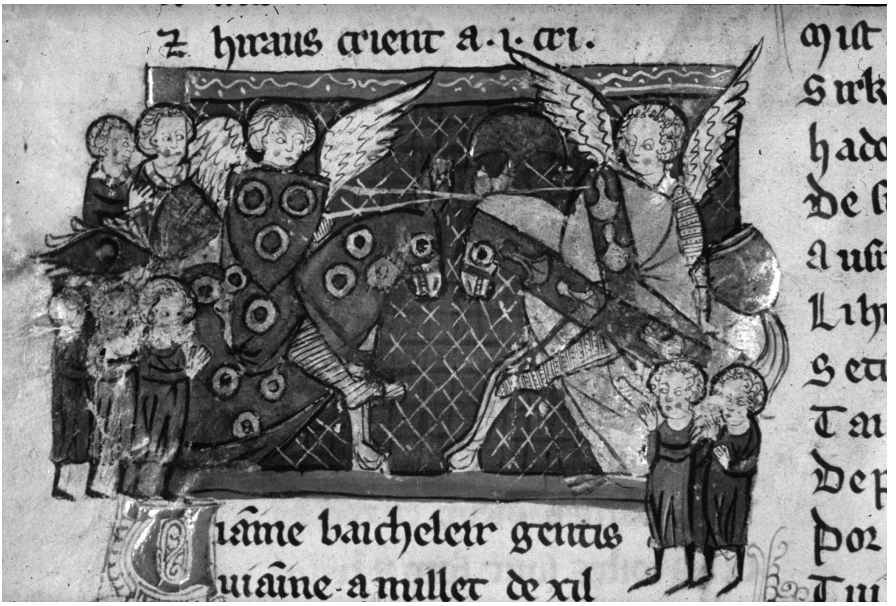

Figure 1: Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency:* Milet de Til jousts with Ferri de Sierck (Min. 4), Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 112v. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 2: Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency:* Ferri de Chardogne jousts with the Seigneur de Bazentin (Min. 2), Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 111r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 3: Jacques de Longuyon, *Les voeux du paon:* Clarus combats Cassamus. Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 12v. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 4: Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency:* Renaut de Trie jousts with Gerard de Looz (Min. 12), Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 120r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 5: Jacques Bretel, *Le tournoi de Chauvency:* Joffroi d'Aspremont jousts with the Seigneur de Sancerre (Min. 8), Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 116r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 6: Gervais du Bus and Chaillou de Pesstain, *Le roman de Fauvel:* Fauvel addresses the God of Love. Paris, BnF fr. 146, fol. 28bisv. (Photo BnF)

Figure 7: *Apocalypse moralisée:* the locusts. London, British Library, Harley 4972, fol. 16v. © The British Library Board.

Figure 8: *Apocalypse moralisée:* Saint Michael vanquishes the "old serpent who is called the devil," London, British Library, Harley 4972, fol. 22r. © The British Library Board.

Figure 9: Huon de Méry, *Li tornoiemens Antecrist:* Saint Michael overthrows the Antichrist. Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 277r. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 10: Huon de Méry, *Li tornoiemens Antecrist:* The Lord of the firmament and the archangel Raphael. Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 277v. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

Figure 11: Richard de Fournival, *Le bestiaire d'Amour:* Reader of a history of Troy. Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 308, fol. 86v. Reproduced by permission of the Bodleian Library.

CHAPTER 3

Buried Treasure

A Lost Document from the Debate on the *Romance of the Rose*

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Between 1401 and 1404 a group of Parisian intellectuals argued about the worth of the immensely popular *Romance of the Rose.* This complex allegory of love, lust, and the quest for knowledge, which was begun by Guillaume de Lorris around 1230 and completed by Jean de Meun some forty years later, offered ample fodder for discussion. The Debate focused particularly on the poem's second part, which climaxes in a spectacularly graphic allegory of deflowering. The Debate, or Quarrel, encompassed multiple conflicts, notably between humanism and theology, and between misogyny and feminism. It was also concerned with matters of style: was it morally acceptable to use graphic language and imagery? The debaters had very different ideas about these issues, but there was one stylistic question about which they agreed—that the *Romance of the Rose* was a compilation.[1] In turn, they produced compilations of their own reactions to the *Rose,* and modern scholars have followed in their example.

Since 1978 a new generation has had access to the letters, treatises, sermons, and poems that the medieval Quarrel produced, thanks to a meticulous edition by the late Eric Hicks. Two new *Rose* Debate anthologies have recently appeared: the first, by Virginie Greene, translates Hicks's edition into modern French along with fresh commentary; the second, a team effort by Christine McWebb and Earl Jeffrey Richards, reorders and expands Hicks's original selec-

1. Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil, Gontier and Pierre Col, *Le débat sur le* Roman de la rose, éd. Eric Hicks (Geneva: Slatkine, 1996); original edition, 1977 (hereafter referred to as *Débat*), pp. 9–10, 12, 115, and 118.

tion of documents and translates it into English.[2] These new versions highlight a question that has been around as least as long as the Quarrel of the *Rose:* what material deserves to be compiled or collected, and why? And what constitutes an authentic text?

The earliest extant document in the Quarrel correspondence is a letter from a defender of the *Romance of the Rose* called Gontier Col to its great detractor Christine de Pizan. Both were from the same circle—Col was a member of the royal chancery, while Christine was the widow of another royal secretary, and a budding writer in her own right. In his letter, Gontier asks Christine to explain her supposedly erroneous view that the *Romance of the Rose* is sacrilegious, and as a corrective he also sends along sections of the *Tresor de Jean de Meun,* an apocryphal meditation on the articles of the faith.[3] Gontier's personal copy of the *Tresor* survives to this day; it is BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 6261.

In this essay, I will argue that Gontier's lost *Tresor* compilation should be considered along with the more canonical documents included in modern editions of the Quarrel. The first step will be to investigate what the term compilation meant to the debaters and their contemporaries; as we shall see, it encompassed a variety of forms, from the *Rose* itself to the *Tresor,* Gontier's *Tresor* compilation, and at least some of the texts written especially for the Quarrel. That Gontier's compilation had the same status as other Quarrel documents is reason alone for us to consider it, but still more to the point, what influence might it have had on the ensuing debate? A closer look at Gontier's personal copy of the *Tresor* will help us reconstruct his *Tresor* compilation; then we will be able to trace the compilation's influence on subsequent debates on theology and feminism—the *Rose* debaters emerge as more attentive to each other's arguments than has sometimes been supposed. I will conclude with some remarks about the slippery nature of textual transmission and reception in the Middle Ages and modern era.

As we use it today, the term compilation describes a range of forms, including so-called miscellany manuscripts, florilegia of worthy sayings, and single-authored works that incorporate predecessors' words and ideas. Despite their name, miscellanies like the Shrewsbury Book (BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi) often betray a highly systematic order),[4] and so do lyric anthologies like Gautier de

2. *Débat; Le débat sur le* Roman de la rose, trans. Virginie Greene. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007); *Debating the* Romance of the Rose: *A Critical Anthology,* ed. and trans. Christine McWebb and trans. Earl Jeffrey Richards (New York: Routledge, 2007).

3. The *Tresor* is actually by Jean Chapuis. Its only modern edition is in volume 3 of Dominique-Martin Méon's four-volume edition of the *Rose:* Guillaume de Lorris and Jehan de Meung, *Le roman de la rose,* éd. Dominique-Martin Méon (Paris: Didot, 1814), 4 vols. (hereafter referred to as *Tresor*).

4. On the Shrewsbury Book's underlying order, see the contributions by Karen Fresco (chapter 9), Andrew Taylor (chapter 7), and Craig Taylor (chapter 8) in this volume. On miscellanies in general,

Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* as it is presented in BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541.[5] In the late Middle Ages, the concept extended even beyond the literary sphere to politics, to signify a cabal.[6] On the other hand, as Alastair Minnis has shown, authors like Boccaccio and Chaucer occasionally donned the compiler's mask in order to deflect possible criticism of their works towards their sources.[7] Christine de Pizan also presented herself as a compiler, but for different reasons; in Christine's formulation, compilation represented an analytical filtering and reshaping of others' words and ideas.[8] It was a potentially noble form: Christine repeatedly likened her experience of inspiration to the Annunciation and her books to the Word made flesh.[9] Sylvia Huot has read Christine's portrait of a beautiful and sacred union between feminine compiler and masculine authors as a response to Jean de Meun's imagery of (pro)creative hammers, pens, and penises.[10] Their frenzied thwacking represents a uniquely masculine perspective; by definition there must be an object, but Jean de Meun's emphasis is on the solitary perspective of the author-lover.

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see also Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996) and Susanna Fein, ed., *Studies in the Harley manuscript: the scribes, contents, and social contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo, MI: TEAMS, 2000). On the manuscript tradition of a slightly later debate, see Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in His Cultural Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), especially pp. 162–88.

5. See Kathryn Duys's contribution to this volume (chapter 11).

6. Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française.* Available at http://www.champion-electronique.net.ezp3.harvard.edu/bases/index.php?module=App&action=FrameMain&sid=7e882b36464a9e4d1affa7198ed0f5ac.

7. Alastair Minnis, *The Medieval Theory of Authorship,* 2nd ed. (Aldershott: Wildwood House, 1988), p. 210.

8. This opinion is not shared by all. Joël Blanchard, for example, has suggested that Christine's pose as compiler is purely rhetorical, and he has gone so far as to equate her compilations with terrorism because of the way that they supposedly explode their source texts. See Blanchard, "Compilation et légitimation au 15e siècle," *Poétique* 74 (1988), pp. 139–57. This intriguing interpretation highlights Christine's very real demolition of the sources she does not like (such as Matheolus), but it fails to acknowledge her own point about the power of creative reading. By recuperating misogynist texts like Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* in her *Book of the City of Ladies,* she asserts her power as an interpreter; she adjusts the details of Boccaccio's narrative in a way that brings out the "truths" which had been "obscured" in the original wording. Blanchard also fails to acknowledge the many more straightforward ways in which Christine compiles words, images, and ideas from favorite authors like Boethius, Augustine, and even Guillaume de Lorris. Christine's view of compilation is both flexible and expansive. On Christine's idea of analytical compilation, see Julia Simms Holderness, "Compilation, Commentary, and Conversation in Christine de Pizan." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 20 (2003), pp. 47–55, and "Castles in the Air? The Prince as Conceptual Artist" in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, Karen Green and Constant J. Mews, eds. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 161–75.

9. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Fondements et fondations de l'écriture chez Christine de Pizan. Scènes de lecture et scènes d'incarnation," in Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentiis, eds., *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 79–96.

10. Sylvia Huot, "Seduction and Sublimation: Christine de Pizan, Jean de Meun, and Dante," *Romance Notes* 25, no. 3 (1985), pp. 361–73.

And yet, although Jean de Meun did not use the word compilation to describe the *Rose,* he did highlight the work's composite quality. In a stunningly playful passage, the god of Love refers to Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun as both characters in the ongoing action and the *romanciers* themselves. Both are also faithful scribes of Love's commandments, and Jean de Meun in particular is meant to spread Love's wisdom throughout France in the form of a book called the *Mirror for Lovers.*[11] In this presentation, the *Romance of the Rose* becomes more an inspired collaboration than an incomplete work and its continuation. Moreover, the suggested title puts it on a par with other medieval mirrors, compilations of instructive material like Vincent of Beauvais's magisterial *Speculum Maius.* The *Rose* may also be understood as a window into one man's mind, a collective conversation between the different aspects of his character (such as youth and reason) and his experience (such as leisure, danger, and of course, love). Jean de Meun's rowdy and contentious compilation "in the language of France" displayed far greater complexity than his near-contemporary Bonaventure might have conceded.[12] In this vernacular context, it is not hard to imagine why both the *Rose*'s advocates and detractors saw it as a compilation. In turn, we should expect that their understanding of literary compilation and collection was quite flexible.

The Quarrel of the *Rose* took place in a variety of settings—private, semi-private, and public. It was also a multi-media affair, including unrecorded but remembered conversations, personal letters, a moral treatise, and lyric poems and sermons meant for public consumption. Some documents are in French, some in Latin. The new edition by Christine McWebb and Jeff Richards expands the Debate's temporal boundaries beyond the years 1401–4, to include a variety of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century reactions to the *Rose.* This is a fascinating endeavor, but the "new" documents that they include (by Petrarch and others) are more of a metadebate; they react to the *Rose,* but not to each other.

Our concern lies with the more or less direct exchanges that took place between 1401 and 1404. At several moments during this period, interlocutors compiled exchanges between themselves and their adversaries that allowed

11. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le roman de la rose,* Félix Lecoy, ed., 3 vols., CFMA 92, 95, 98 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1965–70), vol. 2: 69–74, 11. 10465–10648.

12. Bonaventure distinguished compilation from authorship, attributing creativity to authors only: "Some write others' words, adding material, but not their own, and they are called *compilers.* [. . .] Some write both their own words and those of others, but their own are nonetheless the focus, and the others' are annexed to these as confirmation, and these people should be called *authors.*" (Aliquis scribit aliena addendo, sed non de suo; et ipse *compilator* dicitur. [. . .] Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tamquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem et debet dici *auctor.*) St. Bonaventure, *In primum librum sententiarum,* proem, quaestio iv. In *Opera* (Quaracchi, ed.), i (1882), 14, col. 2. Reproduced in M. B. Parkes, "Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in J. J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to William Richard Hunt* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), pp. 115–41 at pp. 127–28.

themselves to have the last word. For example, Christine de Pizan ended her first compilation with her stinging response to Gontier Col; she ended her second compilation with her response to Gontier's brother Pierre, whose own letters to her she neglected to include. Interestingly, Gontier chose to copy this compilation, without including his brother's letters (Berkeley, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, BANC Ms. UCB, 109). A third compilation, which was created by another advocate of the *Rose,* does include Pierre's first letter to Christine, as well as his own response to her response to him; this version survives in one manuscript only, a compendium of works by, attributed to, or about Jean de Meun (BnF Ms. fr. 1563). These compilations were destined for public consumption, and made their way into the libraries of the Queen, the Duke of Berry, and the Provost of Paris, Guillaume de Tignonville. Other documents, such as Jean Gerson's sermons and Jean de Montreuil's letters, survive in separate manuscripts, but their arguments link them closely to the compiled correspondence. Finally, like the conversation between Jean de Montreuil and Christine de Pizan that first sparked the Quarrel, several of the documents are now lost to us. One of these, Jean de Montreuil's original treatise in praise of the *Rose,* lives on in shadowy form in the response Christine made to it. Another, the *Tresor* compilation that Gontier sent to Christine, seems to underlie some of the Quarrel's later arguments.

In his first letter to Christine, Gontier describes Jean de Meun as a "true Catholic, solemn master and doctor in [. . .] holy theology, [and] most profound and excellent philosopher . . . ,"[13] and he explains so that Christine can better appreciate the master's theological brilliance, "I am sending you publicly but hastily a bit of the *Tresor,* which he *compiled* in order to be better known by the envious and others after his death." Gontier adds one proviso: "[the text] is incorrect, because of the mistakes of the scribe who did not understand it (as will be obvious), and I have not had the time or leisure to review or correct it thoroughly, because of my haste and the burning desire I feel to see your own writing. It is to be hoped that you will know well how to correct and understand the scribe's mistakes in this *compilation.*"[14] The fragmentary state of Gontier's personal copy of this work suggests that it may be the source for his compilation.

BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 6261 is itself a collection. It contains three works in the following order: (1) Gontier's personal copy of the *Tresor de Jean de Meun,* (2)

13. *Débat,* p. 9: "vrai catholique, solempnel maistre et docteur en son temps en saincte theologie, philosophe tres parfont et excellent. . . ." [All English translations are mine unless stated otherwise.]

14. *Débat,* pp. 10–11: "t'envoye patentement et hastivement un pou de *Tresor* qu'il compila pour estre de ses envieux et des autres congneu a sa mort (lequel est incorrect par faulte d'escripvain qui pas ne l'entendy, comme il y pert, et n'ay eu espace ne loisir de le veoir ne corrigier au long pour la haste et ardeur que je ay de veoir ton dessus dit oevre, et messmement qu'il est a supposer que bien sauras les faultes de l'escrivain en ceste *compilacion* corrigier et entendre" [emphases my own].

Un petit traictié de doctrine, which is a set of remonstrances to live virtuously with the end of all things in mind, and (3) a self-explanatory *Salve regina en franczoys.* The latter two texts are written in a fifteenth-century hand, and the binding appears to be from the late fifteenth century. But the *Tresor*'s last folio bears Gontier's signature ("∞ De libris Gonteri Colli de Senonis ∞ Gontier [*seing*] ∞ de"), and according to Carla Bozzolo, the poem is in Gontier's own hand.[15] Marginal notes in another medieval hand indicate places where Gontier has missed one or two stanzas ("ici manquent 12 vers," "ici manquent 24 vers"). Without any other indication, one might not notice the missing stanzas, but one cannot help but notice that whole folios have been lost as well. The manuscript's final private owner, the Marquis Auguste-Henry-Edouard de Queux de Saint Hilaire (1837–89), was also the last to emend it. The freewheeling Marquis (whom we also know as the editor of the complete works of Eustache Deschamps) filled in the blanks in the *Tresor* by copying out the relevant pages from the edition by Dominique-Martin Méon and pasting them in close to the manuscript's seam. He did the same for the missing stanzas, keying them in to the main text with a system of diacritical marks.

How is one to explain these larger gaps, where entire folios have disappeared? BnF Ms. n.a. fr. 6261 shows no traces of an illumination program, so it does not seem that these gaps could represent pilfered miniatures. It is possible that Gontier lent the now-missing folios to a scribe to copy for Christine, and that they somehow never made it back to him. Christine's personal library does not survive, but comparing the lacunae in BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 6261 with Méon's edition can help us see what passages Gontier might have wanted to send his adversary. This 1814 edition is far from scientific, but it does offer a useful sense of the structure and content of the *Tresor.* Gontier's selections suggest not only that Jean de Meun was orthodox, but also that he took an interest in questions of divine grace and the honor of women, key issues in the subsequent debate. Gontier's selection from the article on baptism is significant. For example, we read of the: "Glorious current, glorious water, / Which made clean that which Adam and Eve / Had sullied through their sin . . ."[16]

15. Carla Bozzolo, "L'humaniste Gontier Col et la traduction francaise des Lettres d'Abelard et Heloise" *Romania* 95 (1974), pp. 199–215. See also: Alfred Coville, *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Droz, 1934); reprint Geneva, Slatkine, 1977, pp. 202–203n1: "Ward, *op. cit.,* 29, no v. Le ms. du *Tresor* de Jean de Meun cité dans cette lettre [from Gontier to Christine] que possédait Gontier Col existe encore en effet. Le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire en a fait don à la Bibliothèque nationale où il figure avec le no 6261 des Nouv. Acq. Franç. Il a été mutilé et les pages enlevées ont été remplacées par des pages de papier d'une écriture du XIXe siècle, comblant les lacunes du texte. Il a 96 pages, dont 31 en parchemin et 64 en papier. Lettres ornées tous les trois vers. À la page 95 on lit: *De libris Gonteri Colli de Senonis, Gontier.* Cet ex-libris est suivi d'un seing manuel; il doit être autographe."

16. *Tresor,* p. 340: "Glorieux flun, glorieuse Eve, / Qui lavas ce qu'Adam et Eve / Ont par leur pechié ordoié [. . .]."

The selection from the article on the Passion has a similar focus: the author describes Jesus as, "Our most complete friend, / . . . , / The one who acquits our debts."[17] Both Christine de Pizan and her ally Jean Gerson would later associate the *Rose* with the Turlupins, a contemporary religious sect that reputedly denied the significance of the fall and believed that one could achieve a state of grace while still on earth.[18] Gontier's selection from the article on the Resurrection is notable for its emphasis on the love between Jesus and the "tres-doulce Magdalaine:"

> [Jesus] concluded that Mary,
> Who sat at his feet without complaining,
> And thought only of listening silently,
> Had chosen the sounder part.[19]

> [T]he spark [of their love] was always burning,
> And so she was visited
> And comforted by God before all others,
> For charity is most swift.[20]

The inclusion of this passage on Mary's silence might be a dig at Christine's outspokenness. Although Christine tended to portray herself as a contemplative Mary figure, one can imagine that her contemporaries saw her as more of a pesky Martha; even if she really did spend most of her time in the study, she was very active in composing complaints and firing off angry letters. At any rate Gontier's focus on the virtue of Mary seems to anticipate and gainsay Christine's charge that the *Rose*'s advocates sought "to diminish" "the honor and praise of women."[21]

Gontier's enthusiasm for the *Tresor* leads this modern reader to a reconsideration of medieval and modern ideas of originality, style, and faithfulness to source texts. They are key to any decision about what or what not to compile or collect. At first glance, it is hard to imagine that Gontier really believed that the *Tresor* had been written by Jean de Meun. It is true that Jean de Meun found

17. *Tresor,* p. 342: "Nostre amy li plus entiers / . . . / Qui toutes nos debtes acquite."

18. *Débat,* Jean Gerson, pp. 83, 164, and 180, and Christine de Pizan, pp. 117 and 145. See also Robert S. Lerner, *The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), especially pp. 52–53 and 165–68. The Turlupins were also notorious for their supposed nude rites.

19. *Tresor,* p. 370: "Pour ce conclut-il que Marie / Qui séoit à ses piez sanz braire, / Et pensoit d'entendre et de taire, / Eslut la plus saine partie."

20. *Tresor,* p. 371: "[T]ousjours ardoit l'estincelle; / Par quoy elle fu visitée, / Et de Dieu premiers confortée, / Car charité est trop ysnelle."

21. *Débat,* ed. Hicks, p. 6: Christine's dedication letter to the Queen.

significant inspiration in the works of others—completing the poem begun by Guillaume de Lorris and translating works by Boethius, Abelard and Heloise, Vegetius, and Aelred of Rievaulx. But his continuation of the *Rose* is hardly subservient to its source, and his translations are of intellectually complex and compelling works. The articles of the faith that form the core of the *Tresor* were important for medieval Christians, but this presentation lacks the intellectual and stylistic panache that even his most severe detractors acknowledged in Jean de Meun. How could Gontier Col, who has been called one of the first French humanists, not have realized that his brilliant hero had not written the *Tresor*?[22] Gontier should have known Jean de Meun's style and preoccupations well from the *Romance of the Rose,* as well as Jean's translation of Abelard and Heloise, which he had himself transcribed word for word (BnF Ms. fr. 920).[23] Just how attuned were those early French humanists to matters of style?

Christine does not question the *Tresor*'s attribution to Jean de Meun either, but she does question Pierre Col's discussion of another apocryphal work, the *Testament de Jean de Meun.* As Pierre-Yves Badel, Sylvia Huot, and Nancy Freeman Regalado have noted, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a flowering of creative responses to the *Romance of the Rose.*[24] One of the offshoots was the attribution of various devotional treatises to Jean de Meun. The *Tresor, Testament,* and *Codicille de Jean de Meun* were often compiled with each other, and often with the *Romance of the Rose* itself. Taken together, these texts formed a pro-Jean de Meun publicity campaign, supposed proof of his religious zeal.[25] The *Testament* surfaces at several points in the *Rose* Debate.[26] First, the *Rose* critic Jean Gerson portrays a crowd of people eager to excuse Jean de Meun for

22. Cf. Alfred Coville's portrait of Gontier and his brother as pioneering humanists: *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'humanisme en France.*

23. The only manuscript we have of the Abelard-Heloise translation, BnF Ms. fr. 920, is Gontier's personal transcription. Cf. Jean de Meun, trans., *La vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame,* ed. Eric Hicks (Paris and Geneva: Champion-Slatkine, 1991).

24. Pierre-Yves Badel, *Le* Roman de la rose *au 14e siècle: Étude de la réception de l'oeuvre* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1980); Sylvia Huot, *The* Romance of the Rose *and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, and Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Villon's Legacy from *Le Testament of Jean de Meun:* Misquotation, Memory, and the Wisdom of Fools," in Michael Freeman and Jane H. M. Taylor, eds., *Villon at Oxford: The Drama of the Text. Proceedings of the Conference Held at St. Hilda's College Oxford March 1996* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 282–311.

25. Silvia Buzzetti Gallarati, "Nota bibliografica sulla tradizione manoscritta del *Testament* di Jean de Meun," *Revue romane* 13 (1978), pp. 2–35. This trend culminated in Honoré Bouvet's *Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun* (1398). In this dream vision, Jean de Meun moderates a debate among a physician, a Jew, a Muslim, and a Dominican friar; here too Jean de Meun is a pious figure. The *Apparicion* may even be said to rely on his now-proven reputation. Cf. Michael Hanley, ed. and trans., *Medieval Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Dialogue:* The Apparicion Maistre Jehan de Meun *of Honorat Bovet* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005).

26. For Regalado, this exchange is particularly significant because it points to the broader conception of Jean de Meun in the early fifteenth century. See Regalado, "Villon's Legacy," pp. 295–97.

the *Rose,* because of the regret for it that he expressed in a line of the *Testament:* "J'ay fait [. . .] en ma jonesse maint dit par vanitey."[27] Pierre Col responds by reinterpreting this line, suggesting that Jean de Meun could not have been referring to the *Romance of the Rose*—instead the reference must have been to some now-lost naughty lyric poems.[28] He promises to explain his line of reasoning, but never does. Christine pounces on this opportunity, feigning amazement that anything by "un si souverain dicteur" could have been lost, given that Jean de Meun's fans will attribute almost anything to him, even works by Augustine.[29] In fact there is no record of that attribution, but Christine could be mocking Gontier's credulity concerning the *Tresor.*

Christine demonstrates a surer sense of style than the brothers Col. Referring to the *Rose,* she takes a jab at Jean de Meun's style in her letter to Pierre. She insists on the idea of decorum, contrasting Jean de Meun's parodic blend of sacred and profane with Dante's strict separation of each into separate realms of the afterlife:

> [Jean de Meun] hardly shows us the blessedness of paradise when he says that evil-doers will go there. And he mixes up paradise with the filth he describes, in order to lend greater credence to his book. But if you want to hear heaven and hell described better, and theology discussed in more subtle terms, more beneficially, more poetically, and more usefully, read the book called *The Dante,* or else have it explained to you, since it is sovereignly written in the Florentine language: there you will hear another discourse which is better and more subtly founded—no offense!—and which will benefit you more than your *Romance of the Rose*—and it is a hundred times better written—there is no comparison—please do not be vexed.[30]

Christine's reading of the Jean de Meun's *Rose* is arguably influenced by her reading of the *Tresor.*

Moving forward in time, one may ask what constituted an "authentic" text

27. *Débat,* p. 64.

28. *Débat,* p. 95.

29. *Débat,* p. 121: Christine knows and quotes Jean de Meun's preface to his translation of Boethius, where he details his own œuvre. Cf. "Boethius' *De Consolatione* by Jean de Meun," ed. V. L. Dédeck-Héry, *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1952), pp. 165–275.

30. *Débat,* pp. 141–42: "[L]a beatitude de paradis ne monstre il mie quant il dist que les malfaiteurs yront. Et pour ce mesle il paradis avec les ordures dont il parle: pour donner plus foy a son livre. Mais se mieulx vuelz oïr descripre paradis et enfer, et par plus subtilz termes plus haultement parlé de theologie, plus prouffitablement, plus poetiquement et de plus grant efficasse, lis le livre que on appelle le Dant, ou le te fais exposer pour ce que il est en langue florentine souverainnement dicté: la oyras autre propos mieux fondé plus subtilement, ne te desplaise, et ou tu pourras plus prouffiter que en ton *Romant de la Rose,*—et cent fois mieux composé; ne il n'y a comparaison, ne t'en couroucess ja."

in the nineteenth century? Although the Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire had access to a complete printed edition of the *Tresor,* he chose to copy out the sections missing from his manuscript and paste them in. In 1889, the year of Queux de Saint-Hilaire's death, Gaston Paris recalled that what had attracted his old friend to late medieval French literature,

> was a natural affinity with the nobility, elegance, and amiability of the high society of that time and the poetry which gave it pleasure. He was quite at home in the chivalrous, refined world which is glimpsed in the *Livre des Cent Ballades;* and so he was delighted to discover that [. . .] a certain Jehan de Queux [was] among those who took part in this gallant poetic tournament. In publishing the *Cent Ballades,* he claimed to address not scholars, but rather, "those men of the world [. . .] who still kept alive the flower of chivalry which certain families had passed down for generations [and] to all those who, because of their cultivated minds and distinguished sentiments take an interest in historical and moral questions." Assuredly, he was himself the paragon of this group.[31]

Queux de Saint-Hilaire's interventionist attitude resembles that of his contemporary Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), who preferred restoring crumbling medieval architecture to its original splendor, to merely preserving it from further ruin. Authenticity in its more current sense be damned—these men felt a direct connection to the past, and this sense of connection allowed them to reshape their objects in a way that we might not consider feasible today.

And what about today? In his edition of the Debate, Eric Hicks discusses at length his reasons for including letters by Jean de Montreuil and omitting Christine's *Epistre au dieu d'amours.* His near total silence about the *Tresor* may be explained by the fact that whoever wrote it was not a direct participant in the Debate. But it is worth noting that Gontier presents the *Tresor* as the Debate's very earliest document. In his first letter to Christine, Gontier says

31. Gaston Paris, "Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire," in Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes,* 11 vols. (Paris: SATF, 1889), vol. 6, pp. ii–iii: "c'était une affinité naturelle avec ce qu'eurent de noble, d'élégant et d'aimable la haute société d'alors et la poésie où elle s'amusa. Dans ce monde chevaleresque et poli que fait entrevoir à l'imagination le *Livre des Cent Ballades,* il se trouvait naturellement chez lui: aussi quel ne fut pas son plaisir quand il rencontra dans Deschamps (t. IV, p. 312) un Jehan de Queux, mentionné précisément en compagnie de plusieurs de ceux qui prirent part à ce galant tournoi poétique! En publiant le recueil des *Cent Ballades,* il y a vingt ans, il déclarait l'adresser non aux savants, mais à 'ceux des hommes du monde, plus nombreux qu'on ne le croit, qui conservent encore intacte cette fleur de chevalerie transmise avec des traditions de famille auxquelles on ose rarement forfaire . . . à toutes les personnes qui, par la culture de leur esprit et par la distinction de leurs sentiments, s'intéressent aux questions historiques et morales.' Assurément, il était lui-même le type le plus achevé de ceux qu'il caractérisait ainsi [. . .]."

that Jean de Meun wrote the *Tresor* to stave off attacks by "jealous people and others . . . after his death" [ses envieux et des autres [. . .] a sa mort]. In the same letter Gontier refers to contemporary detractors of the *Rose* as "jealous of the accomplishments of the late Master Jean" [envieux sur les fais du [. . .] feu maistre Jehan]. I would argue that Gontier's lost compilation does have the force of an authorial text. After all, Gontier and Christine both refer to Jean de Meun as a compiler.

Even when the debaters are not arguing about theoretical issues like allegory, their correspondence bears witness to the complex literary culture of their day. The *Rose*'s advocates and detractors shared common assumptions about the nature of literary authenticity, and for all of them, textual transmission was a frustratingly messy business.

CHAPTER 4

Pages Filled with Dreams

Notes on the Reorganization of Epic Cycles in Fifteenth-Century Italy

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Since the beginning of printing in the Italian peninsula around 1470, epic-chivalric poems derived from the French *chansons de geste* became a prominent component of the market. The deeds of Orlando, Rinaldo, the traitor Gano, and other figures started to populate the shops of booksellers and the dreams of collectors and readers. We see an avid collector of printed books like Isabella d'Este, marchioness of Mantua, asking in her letters for good texts and good editions: "Voressimo che uno dì mandasti uno di vostri per tutte le appoteche de libri da vendere sono in Venetia et facesti fare notta de tutti li libri che lì sono in vulgare, tanto in rima quanto in prosa, che contengano batalie, historie et fabule, cossì de moderni come de antiqui, *et massime de li paladini de Franza,* et ogni altro che si trovarà et mandarceli quanto più presto potereti." [We would like you to send someone into all the shops that sell books in Venice to take note of all the books they have in the vernacular, both in prose and in verse, containing battles, stories, and fables, both ancient and modern, *and above all of the French heroes,* and any other book that they may find, and to send them to us as soon as you can.][1]

I am grateful to the organizers and the participants of the conference *Collections in Context* for their helpful questions and suggestions. I want to thank Anna Montanari for her help in locating resources and her generosity in sharing her profound knowledge of the chivalric incunabula.

1. The letter, written to Giorgio Brognolo on September 17, 1491, is quoted in Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, *La coltura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2005; originally appeared as a series of articles in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana,* 1899–1903), p. 7. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Italics are also mine.

The seventeen-year-old Isabella, recently married to Francesco Gonzaga, writes to one of her contacts in Venice, the capital of Italian printing. Her request is specifically for vernacular books, and for books of a specific genre: not only does she insist on the adventures of the French knights, but the expression "libri di bataia," or "batalia," is almost a technical term for the chivalric-epic production of this period.[2] This episode, among many one could quote for Isabella herself and other figures in her milieu, not only attests to an established taste for the epic chivalric poem but is also the demonstration of an attitude prone to collecting in the earliest stages of the print market.

The same stories had been the object of a different love, not apparently related to the concept of collection, in earlier times and in other forms. Manuscripts with the same adventures circulated widely in Italy over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and kept circulating side by side with the printed versions. Another important vehicle of circulation was oral performance of these texts, at courts or in public squares. As his heirs, the humanists, will do almost a century later, Francesco Petrarca took his distance from this textual production and its heroes: "Ecco quei che le carte empion di sogni: / Lancillotto, Tristano, e gli altri erranti / ove convien che il vulgo errante agogni" [Here are those who fill the pages with dreams: Lancelot, Tristan, and the other knights errant. The lost populace craves them].[3] What these manuscript and oral versions have in common, in addition to the stories and the wide diffusion, is the fact that they all tend to be anonymous. The figure of the author is not of great importance to these texts, and it will only begin to be a central element with the great figures of Matteo Maria Boiardo and Ludovico Ariosto.[4]

In this lively panorama of textual production and circulation, epic chivalric texts went through organizations and reorganizations, endured cuts, severing, and reassemblies, and produced filiations, prequels, and spin-offs. No words could better describe this ever-changing material (the first printed epic stories of Italian literature) than those of Ludovico Ariosto, an author who greatly benefited from it. In canto XV of his masterpiece, the *Orlando furioso,* published in 1516, the narrator describes the frustrating duel of the twin warriors Aquilante and Grifone with the magical Orrilo, whose body cannot be dismembered:

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2. Historians of the book concur on this term, which is present in extant bookshops' catalogues. See Angela Nuovo, "I 'libri di battaglia': commercio e circolazione tra Quattro e Cinquecento," in A. Canova and P. Vecchi Galli, eds., *Boiardo, Ariosto e i libri di battaglia* (Novara: Interlinea, 2007), pp. 341–59.

3. Francesco Petrarca, *Triumphus Cupidinis,* III, 79–81, in *Trionfi, rime estravaganti, codice degli abbozzi,* ed. V. Pacca and L. Paolino (Milan: Mondadori, 1996).

4. On the connections between anonymity and collections, interestingly tied to the objectives of the editor-printers, see Marcus Keller's chapter 5 on the *Trésor politique* in this volume.

Più volte l'han smembrato e non mai morto,
né, per smembrarlo, uccider si potea;
che se tagliato mano o gamba gli era,
la rapiccava, che parea di cera.
Or fin a' denti il capo gli divide
Grifone, or Aquilante fin al petto.
Egli dei colpi lor sempre si ride:
S'adiran essi, che non hanno effetto.
Chi mai d'alto cader l'argento vide,
che gli alchimisti hanno mercurio detto,
e spargere e raccor tutti i suo' membri,
sentendo di costui, se ne rimembri.
Se gli spiccano il capo, Orrilo scende,
né cessa brancolar finché lo trovi;
et or pel crine et or pel naso il prende,
lo salda al collo e non so con che chiovi.
Piglial talor Grifon, e 'l braccio stende,
nel fiume il getta, e non par ch'anco giovi;
che nuota Orrilo al fondo come un pesce,
e col suo capo salvo alla ripa esce. (*OF* XV, 69–71)[5]

[Several times they had dismembered, but not killed, him—dismembering would not finish him off, for if he had a hand or a leg cut off, he stuck it back on as though it were of wax. Grifon would split his skull down to the teeth, Aquilant would cleave him down to the chest, but Orrilo only laughed at their blows, while the brothers grew incredibly furious, seeing them all wasted. Anyone who has seen quicksilver dropped from a height (or mercury as the alchemists call it), and noticed the way it fragments into particles that then reunite, would be reminded of this as he looked at Orrilo. If they lop off his head, Orrilo stoops and gropes about for it; once he has found it he picks it up, this time by the hair, next time by the nose, and sticks it back on his neck, though Heaven knows how he makes it fast. Grifon may scoop it up and lob it into the river, but all to no purpose—Orrilo dives to the bottom like a fish only to clamber ashore with his head safe on his shoulders.][6]

Similar awe and frustration await the scholar who decides to work on the

5. The edition I quote is *Orlando furioso secondo l'edizione del 1532 con le varianti delle edizioni del 1516 e del 1521.* Edited by Santorre Debenedetti and Cesare Segre (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1960).

6. Translation by Guido Waldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). All translations of the *Orlando furioso* are by Guido Waldman, unless otherwise noted.

popular epic matter of Italy in the fifteenth century, an area explored by few. The adventures of Charlemagne's knights, inherited from the French tradition, develop and expand with exponential progression, finding both in manuscript and early printed books their means of circulation. Like falling quicksilver, they disperse and re-coagulate in multiple rivers of narrations, and like Orrilo's severed limbs, they are stuck back together, even though the suture is often not as seamless.

Some of the sutures that the chivalric texts extant in incunabula preserve provide an interesting point of departure to explore the concept of collection in the context of circulation. Is it useful to think of the production and circulation of these texts in terms of collections? I will try to focus in particular on the beginning of a printed market (characterized by a rise in the importance of the new figure of the editor), which coexists with manuscript circulation. I will consider the case of the *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno* (*The Falling in Love of Charlemagne,* or *Charlemagne in Love*), and to do so I will start from the text in its most "stable" form, that is, the form that has been preserved for us by the largest number of witnesses.

The poem known as *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno* was probably published for the first time in Venice, in 1481,[7] and for the second time ten years later, still in Venice.[8] The *editio princeps* of the text is conserved at the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania[9] and at the *Fondation Martin Bodmer* in Geneva,[10] while the second edition known to us exists today in one copy, preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense in Milan.[11]

Like most other texts in this tradition, the *Inamoramento* in print is anonymous and, needless to say, lacks a modern edition. The 77 cantos of the *Inamoramento* tell a complex story of travel, war, and love. What triggers the story is the strange behavior of an elderly Charlemagne who, sight unseen, falls in love with the unnamed daughter of the pagan king, Trasumeri, and sends Rinaldo to seize her. The passion of Charlemagne is the starting point of an endless series of adventures, wars, and battles between Christians and pagans, loosely organized around the figure of Rinaldo, who is initially in charge of seizing Belisandra (King Trasumieri's daughter). On the Christian side, four characters emerge from the narration with distinct personalities: Rinaldo, Orlando, Carlo, and Gano. Rinaldo represents, as often is the case in the Italian tradition, the defiant knight, always at risk of betraying or challenging the king's authority

7. The first edition, for the types of Georg Walch, saw the light on July 20, 1481. See Neil Harris, "Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi," *in La Bibliofilia* XCV, 1994, pp. 15–42 esp. 23.

8. Dionigi Bertocchi, July 31, 1491. See Harris, "Marin Sanudo," 23.

9. Folio Inc C-204.

10. Inc. 156.

11. Rari Castiglioni 35.

(his first act in the poem is to take Belisandra—and her virginity—for himself); he is also constantly accused of betrayal by Gano. Orlando, Rinaldo's cousin, is the serious, faithful vassal, who tries to mediate between Rinaldo and the king, calming the former and defending him from false accusations. Carlo is a less consistent figure in the poem: torn between his desires and his institutional role, always fearful of betrayal, he is often the prey of bad counselors such as Gano. Traitor *par excellence,* Gano is the steadiest, most clear-cut character: his goal is to see the houses of Montalbano and Chiaromonte through to their ruin.

Throughout the 5,942 octaves of the poem, the female figures that take center stage along with these knights are pagan princesses and female warriors. The princesses, Belisandra, Dandolia, and Calidonia, objects of desire by default, are destined to fall in love with Rinaldo, to convert, to help the Christians, and ultimately to die for the Christian cause. The warriors—Rovenza, Fanarda, and Frosina—fulfill the role of the monstrous and threatening "other" that will ultimately be assimilated: they all die, but in the last case (Fanarda) after having converted and married an ally of the Christian king. The story is long and complicated, and were it not for the overall good quality of the poem, it would have probably been entirely forgotten. The other chivalric poems that are roughly contemporary to the *Inamoramento,* in fact, have survived in many more copies. One element that remains of particular interest to this text, on the other hand, is the serial quality of the characters that—especially in the case of the female figures—appear as doublings and filiations of each other, each new character adding a further element of depth in an otherwise stale progression.

In the last few years, another element of seriality has appeared in connection with the *Inamoramento.* Scholars have started to observe that some shorter poems that were known under different titles are, in reality, portions of the larger *Inamoramento* poem. This is the case of the *Inamoramento di Rinaldo* (*Rinaldo in Love*), published in Milan by the editor Scinzenzeler in 1501 and reprinted by Silva in Turin in 1503. This short poem corresponds very precisely to the plot of the *Inamoramento* (cantos 29–33).[12] Among the few variations, there is an interesting address to the reader in the last lines of the poem:

> Se legerai la Vendeta di Rinaldo
> tu odirai tanto disconforto,

12. The question had been studied by Susanna Gugenheim in *Il Mago Malagigi. Saggio per uno studio sopra la figura del mago nella letteratura cavalleresca italiana* (Milan: Indipendenza, 1911), and further explored by Elio Melli, "Nella selva dei *Rinaldi:* poemetti su Rinaldo da Montalbano in antiche edizioni a stampa" in *Studi e Problemi di Critica Testuale* XVI (1978), pp. 193–215. Marco Villoresi has recently analyzed the sutures and reworking in detail: "Il mercato delle meraviglie: strategie seriali, rititolazioni e riduzioni dei testi cavallereschi a stampa fra Quattro e Cinquecento" in *Studi Italiani,* XIV (1995), pp. 5–53, now in *La fabbrica dei cavalieri: cantari, poemi, romanzi in prosa fra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2005), pp. 130–74, esp. pp. 142–56.

che uciseno assai del popolo ribaldo;
e come Rinaldo il papa hebe morto,
e già per quello non steto saldo
che vendicar el volse di tal torto.
Se leger voriti le gran crudeltate,
presto stampato serà in veritade.[13]

[If you read *The Vengeance of Rinaldo* / you will hear about much grief / since the knights killed many of the wicked people; / and you will hear how Rinaldo killed the Pope, / and he did not hesitate/ because he wanted to punish a great injustice. / If you wish to read about this abomination, / in truth, it will soon be printed.]

It is indeed the case that, in the *Inamoramento,* the killing of the Pope on Rinaldo's part to avenge the death of a friend is exactly what follows the section published under the title *Rinaldo in Love.* We find here the hand of the editor: in order to promote his books, he is advertising a sequel to the poem. Clearly, *Charlemagne in Love* became a repository from which editors throughout Northern Italy would steal portions and fashion them into single, shorter poems.

Already in 1491, while the second edition of the entire poem was in press, the Bolognese editor Bazaliero Bazalieri[14] published another section of the *Inamoramento,* the first ten cantos, modifying only the last lines:

E se legerai la Istoria di Salione,
In que' gran fati tu li troverai,
Che uccisino assai del populo Macone
E assai detino a lor fatiche e guai.

[And if you read the *Story of Salione* / you will find these knights in the midst of those adventures / when they killed many of the people of Mahomet / and gave them great grief and trouble.][15]

Sure enough, in the *Inamoramento,* the adventures of the character Salione follow the cantos we have just mentioned. In this editorial strategy, the episodes that featured the various adventures of different heroes become discrete enti-

13. *Inamoramento di Rinaldo* 1501 (VI, 44). The only extant copy is BL Ms. 11426.f.73.

14. Former partner of Bertocchi, the 1491 Venetian editor, as observed by Villoresi, "Il mercato delle meraviglie," p. 147.

15. The text is preserved at the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma (Inc. 641) and quoted by Villoresi, "Il mercato delle meraviglie," p. 147.

ties, isolated poems. The normal chivalric narration, which since the thirteenth century had wandered away from the eponymous hero of the title as Eugene Vinaver has shown, is now broken into isolated, consistent narrative unities.[16] The title finally corresponds to the content.

To continue our story, the aforementioned *Story of Salione,* eagerly advertised by its printer, has luckily survived. In the Palatine Library of Parma there is another incunabulum bearing this title. In this case, the editorial strategy is apparent both in the beginning and in the end of the poem: the beginning connects to the plot of the *Inamoramento,* while the end, with the usual format, "previews" the following sequence, entitled *Story of Tirante.* This same strategy is clear in other cases, both taken from the *Inamoramento* and from other long poems. A case in point is the *Dama Rovenza,* another poem in many ways connected to the *Inamoramento.*[17] This narration of the adventures of the amazon Rovenza, famous for her weapon of choice, a giant hammer or a giant sickle depending on the text, was another favorite of the Marchioness Isabella d'Este, who bought this poem in the same year 1491 after receiving the book list from her faithful contact in Venice.[18]

In the case of the *editio princeps* of the *Dama Rovenza,* printed in Venice by Luca di Domenico ca. 1482, the *explicit* promises new adventures by the same nonexistent author, right before the mention of the editor:

Ne l'altro canto farà la vendeta
Del podoroso morto Ternaue,
Perché Renaldo la bella Roseta
Vorrà veder el baron de vertue.
Come fato sarà la giovaneta
Per questo canto non ve dico piue
Ma caldamente m'acomando a Dio
Che vi contenti ogni vostro desio.

Signori ch'aveti questa stori udita
La morte de Grapas e di Roenza
Che porta el martello alla sua vita
E de quel Ternau pien de potenza
De re Gata Moglier la sua finita

16. Eugene Vinaver, *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

17. See Villoresi, "Il mercato delle meraviglie," pp. 153–57, and Anna Montanari, "*Carlomagno e Gano di Maganza:* Annotazioni sopra un incunabolo ritrovato," in *Italianistica* XXXIV (2005), pp. 61–72, esp. p. 72.

18. Luzio and Renier, *La coltura e le relazioni,* p. 8.

E di quel franco signore iscapigliato
E Lucha Viniziano si l'ha stampato.[19]

[In the other song he will take his revenge of the powerful dead Ternaù, because Rinaldo, the virtuous lord, will want to see the beautiful Roseta. How this will be done I don't say any more, but I commend myself to God, that he may grant you your every desire. Sirs, who have heard this story, of the death of Grapas and of Rovenza, who wore her hammer at her waist, and of the death of Ternaù at the hands of King Gata Mogliera, and of the noble lord: all this has been printed by Luca the Venetian.]

The narrating voice suspends its narration, creating the expectation of new adventures, that will come in a future "canto" (song). Less openly than the endings of the *Salione* and the *Rinaldo,* the voice simply promises more, and wishes the fulfillment of the listeners' desires, which may include the continuation of the story. This strategy, even though based on the fiction of orality (texts such as the *Rovenza* were clearly read aloud, but in this format they were printed to be sold), reads like a preview of future products to buy, prominently coupled with the name of the printer, who has provided "all this." It is worth noting that the names of the heroes and heroines are rehearsed, as if to create connections with other adventures that will tie them together.

Rather than giving more examples, at this point I would like to focus on the meaning of these textual fragmentations and organizations. It would seem that the unity of a collection (the *Inamoramento,* a macrotext containing many different adventures) is broken down. It is necessary at this point to find a workable definition of collection applied to *corpora* of texts, one that could be more theoretically precise than the usual miscellanea, anthology, and *zibaldone.* A central issue at stake, when it comes to textual collections, seems to be the question of agency, which, in our cases, seems to fall entirely in the hands of the editors/booksellers. Susan Stewart, in her book *On Longing,* defines the collection in opposition to the souvenir: "In contrast to the souvenir, the collection offers example rather than sample, metaphor rather than metonymy."[20] The souvenir strives for originality, it stands in for something else (an experience, a country, a period), whereas the collection constructs a reality in itself: "Like other forms of art, its function is not the restoration of context of origin but rather the creation of a new context, a context standing in a metaphorical,

19. I quote the text from the only extant copy, BAV Inc. Ross. 1350. For a thorough description of the incunabulum, see Neil Harris, "A Mysterious UFO in the Venetian *Dama Rovenza* [ca. 1482]," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 78 (2003), pp. 22–30.

20. Susan Stewart, *On Longing. Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 151.

rather than a contiguous, relation to the world of everyday life."[21] Is Stewart's definition applicable to literature? She seems to doubt it: "Yet it is the museum, not the library, which must serve as the central metaphor of the collection; it is the museum, in its representativeness, which strives for authenticity and for closure of all space and temporality within the context at hand."[22] In other words, it is only the universe-in-itself of the museum that can be used as a metaphor for the collection. The library (and possibly the text) according to Stewart is too open onto the world to meet the requirements of a collection.

Stewart's definition of a collection forces us to think about what can be called specifically a collection in a textual reality. It could be argued that a giant text like the *Inamoramento,* whose adventures move quickly away from the eponymous incident, is a collection. When we analyze the strategies of composition at play in the poem, however, it is unlikely that we can find anything similar to a "creation of a new context," or to the establishment of a closed system of space and time. These sequences are collected and reorganized according to different principles. The most important such principles are, I think, filiation (some narratives engender other narratives about the son or daughter of their protagonist), and parallelism or similarity (the adventures of a particular princess are echoed and expanded in the adventures of another). These principles seem to respond to an organizing law of hierarchy rather than seriality.

But if we look for seriality in the collection, as, for instance, Baudrillard does,[23] then I would argue that the collection is possible only after the text has been broken down into sequences. The texts are fragmented and dismembered according to a principle of unity generally identifiable with the protagonist. Is it useful to conceptualize these movements of assembling and disassembling at least in part using the tool of the collection? I think that the collection is created, counterintuitively, by the fragmentation of the text. When the *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno* becomes a dozen different booklets, sold serially month after month, its unity is lost but paradoxically recreated as a collection. The link between the single subtexts is seriality, the expectation created in the public, the driving desire to keep reading. The unity created first in manuscripts and then in the printed 1481–91 versions of the *Inamoramento* are not collections. They are narratives that strive to assimilate and unify different strands, thereby imposing their own rhythms and their own consistent (albeit tortuous) order.

21. Stewart, *On Longing,* p. 152.

22. Stewart, *On Longing,* p. 161.

23. Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects* (1968), trans. James Benedict (New York: Verso, 1997). In a recent volume on collections and collecting, Baudrillard's theorization still holds a prominent position. See John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995), where Baudrillard's article, "The System of Collecting" (pp. 7–24), is featured as the introductory essay to the volume.

What creates the collection (or the sheer possibility of its existence) is the isolation of sequences in relation to each other: the novel series.

There may have been a moment in which the adventures of the knights had been collected in manuscript form as compilations, as portable handwritten museums of stories; and it might be worthwhile to explore the passage of this rich material from manuscript to print in this context. Our focus in this case, however, is the creation of a collection that treats books as objects and establishes a connection between different objects, envisioning for the public the idea of a possible "complete collection" of adventures. I argue that by leaving the realm of the single object (one single book) late fifteenth-century editors are establishing a very successful model of textual collection.

It is of paramount importance that texts be anonymous, or mostly anonymous, for this mechanism to work. We have seen that editors often present themselves at the end of the book and "brand" the text by inserting it both in their series, as it were, and in a context of other interrelated stories. With the emergence of the author of epic chivalric poems, even after a long coexistence throughout the first half of the sixteenth century and beyond, the partition between popular, serial products and unique masterpieces will change the epic chivalric panorama forever.

Boiardo, the other canonical author, with Ariosto, of chivalric poetry, in the beginning of the fifth canto of the third book of his poem compares his work to a bouquet of different flowers:

Colti ho diversi fiori ala verdura,
Azuri e giali e candidi e vermigli;
Facta ho di vaghe herbete una mistura,
Garofili e vïole e rose e zigli:
Tràgassi avanti chi de odore ha cura,
E ciò che più gli piace, quel se pigli;
A cui dilecta el ziglio, a cui la rosa
Et a cui questa, a cui quel'altra cosa.

Però diversamente il mio verziero
De amore e de battaglia ho già piantato:
Piace la guerra a lo animo più fiero,
Lo amore al cuor gentile e delicato.[24]

[I have picked different flowers in the field,

24. *Inamoramento de Orlando* III, v, 1–2. I quote from the critical edition by Antonia Benvenuti Tissoni and Cristina Montagnani, in Matteo Maria Boiardo, *Opere* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1999), t. 1, pp. I and II.

Blue, yellow, fair and crimson;
I have made a mixture of beautiful herbs,
Of carnations and violets and roses and lilies.
Who wants to take pleasure in their perfume should come forward,
And take whatever he likes most;
Some like the lily, some fancy the rose,
And some like this, and others like the other.

Because of this I have planted my meadow
With love and battle;
The fiercest soul favors war,
The gentle and delicate soul favors love.]

Boiardo envisions variety as an element that he needs to collect in his poem, in order to meet his audience's tastes and his own. We could conceive of this as one model of collection, to which the late medieval and early renaissance chivalric poems do not correspond. An alternative model, which may be more compatible with print and market culture, is the one projected by the editors of the various sequences of the *Inamoramento di Carlo Magno:* a hypothetical, desirable, and achievable collection of stories.

CHAPTER 5

The Turk in the *Trésor politique* (1598/1608) or the Anthological as Political Mode

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In September 1589, only weeks after the assassination of Henry III at the beginning of August of that year and during a decisive period of the French civil wars, a collection of treatises and diplomatic reports in Italian was published anonymously in Paris. Entitled *Thesoro politico,* it comprised anonymous political essays on statecraft and reports by Roman and Venetian diplomats on courts and regimes in Europe and beyond, some forty pieces of various length and without visible order. Revised, expanded, and translated into French as *Trésor politique* in 1608, the collection quickly became one of the most important documents of post-Machiavellian political thought in Europe at the turn of the sixteenth century.[1] How can one explain the rise of this anonymous ad hoc compilation to an internationally influential anthology and a fundamental text of modern political theory? The popularity of the *Trésor* might best be elucidated by its textual format and what I will call its anthological mode. It allowed the work's different editors and publishers to adapt the collection to a rapidly changing political landscape in different national contexts. Regardless of these diverse contexts, the anthology's evolution was marked by the increasing space the different editors granted the discussion of the Ottoman Empire. The following analysis of the Empire's treatment at different stages of the *Trésor*'s intricate international editorial history demonstrates how this anthology contributes substantially to the early modern conceptualization of statehood by

1. According to Jean Balsamo, the *Trésor* was "en son temps le plus fameux des ouvrages politiques" and "contribuait à fonder la science politique moderne." See Jean Balsamo, "Les Origines parisiennes du *Tesoro politico.*" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 57 (1995), p. 1.

opening and confronting various perspectives on contemporary international politics. Moreover, the case study of the Turk in the *Trésor politique* reveals the anthological as an intrinsically political mode.

The *Thesoro* was published during the most severe crisis the French kingdom had faced since the beginning of the civil wars in 1562. The assassination of Henry III triggered an intense struggle for political supremacy because the legitimacy of the heir to the throne, the Protestant Henry of Navarre, was violently contested by the powerful, ultra Catholic League, which had made the French capital its stronghold. While the political substance of the *Thesoro* and the date and place of its publication suggest that it was intended as a direct intervention into this critical situation, it remains difficult to determine precisely which ideological goals motivated the anonymous editor-printers to publish this Italian collection in Paris. After analyzing the *bandeaux* or stripe-shaped ornamentations at the top of some of the *Thesoro*'s pages and taking into account such circumstances as the almost exclusive presence of the 1589 edition in Parisian libraries today, Jean Balsamo concludes that the anthology was most likely the work of the three well-established Parisian printers Denis Cotinet, Léger Delas, and Denis Binet, whose editorial program reveals their sympathies for the League.[2] The editor-printers placed an anonymous report on the kingdom's desolate situation, entitled "Relatione delle divisioni di Francia," the only topical piece of the collection, at the heart of the *Thesoro.* The content and position of the "Relatione" leads Balsamo to surmise that the editor-printers intended to bolster the position of Louis of Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, as a mediator between Henry of Navarre and the League and a guarantor of peace during the troubled weeks and months after the assassination of Henry III. He even goes so far as to suggest that this anonymous piece "donnait son sens au recueil tout entier, et justifiait de sa parution."[3]

In order to forge an effective propagandistic tool to be used in the fierce struggle for political power of the day, the editors chose the format of an anthology. If we consider the specific socio-historical context of the *Thesoro*'s publication, the question arises why they opted for the anthological mode. With this term I am following Seth Lerer's reflections on the differences between anthologies and miscellanies as discrete forms of Medieval English collections and what he describes as "the anthologistic."[4] Lerer suggests that, contrary to miscellanies, anthologies are controlled by a "literary intelligence" and that "the

2. Balsamo, "Les Origines parisiennes du *Tesoro politico,*" pp. 19–20. See also Balsamo's "'Une parfaite intelligence de la Raison d'Estat': *Le Trésor politique,* René de Lucinge et les Turcs (1588–1608)," in *D'un siècle à l'autre: littérature et société de 1590 à 1610,* ed. Philippe Desan and Giovanni Dotoli (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2001), pp. 303–4.

3. Balsamo, "Les Origines parisiennes du *Tesoro politico,*" p. 19.

4. See Seth Lerer, "Medieval English Literature and the Idea of the Anthology," *PMLA* 188.5 (2003), pp. 1251–67.

mark of the anthologistic . . . is a moment when the idea of the anthology is thematically present in the texts" (1255). Thierry Rolin, publisher of the 1611 edition of the *Trésor*,[5] defines himself as precisely that "literary intelligence" when he describes the purpose of the anthology as giving an overview "de la conduicte, des moeurs, des loix, des coustumes, & de la police de tous les peuples de l'univers" ("Au Lecteur," v), following in the footsteps of Cotinet and the other editor-printers. We will see below how the idea of the anthology in Lerer's sense is also present through the way it combines and sets into tension different accounts, in particular those about the Ottoman Empire. The anthological mode is thus suggested as a discursive model that characterizes and distinguishes the modern state.

By drawing on documents about statecraft that had previously circulated only in secluded circles as single tracts, the anthological mode allowed the editors of the *Thesoro* to react quickly to a rapidly evolving political crisis by publishing existing but little known documents. They lent these documents new significance by compiling them in a certain order and making them an integral part of an innovative political discourse. The anthological mode allowed the editors to combine these tracts and treatises with a polemic text commenting on the current state of affairs, the "Divisioni di Francia." The juxtaposition with diplomatic reports and treatises reflecting on politics bestowed a greater legitimacy on the topical piece. By positioning the essay on France's divisions at the center of the compilation, the editors also symbolically located France at the heart of Europe, couching it between the Holy Roman and Ottoman Empires on the one side and England and the Italian states on the other. The latter are portrayed as stable, prospering states so that the *Thesoro*'s interior order suggests the gravity of France's instability and fragility as the politically central, fundamental issue. Moreover, the anthological mode facilitated anonymity, which was probably of vital interest during the turmoil of 1589. The Italianate name of the printer, Alberto Coloresco, is as fictive as that of the publishing body, a mysterious "Academia Italiana di Colonia." Of imaginary German origin and in Italian, the *Thesoro politico* is clearly a collection that attempts to efface all traces of local identity. Anonymity is not necessarily bound to the anthological mode but its multiplicity of voices supplements and enhances the editor-printers' obvious desire to remain unknown.[6] The absence of an authorial voice and the presence of diverse viewpoints, themselves uttered from undisclosed sources and without any indication of hierarchy among them, feed into the editors' scheme to hide their ulterior motives and efface their identities as much as possible.

5. In the following I will quote from this edition.

6. For another perspective on the importance of anonymity in the creation of collections, see Eleonora Stoppino's chapter 4 on chivalric epic poems in this volume.

I. *Thesoro, Trésor,* and the Translation of Politics

The diversity of Italian voices, providing multiple perspectives on political and cultural matters, might be one of the reasons for the *Thesoro*'s continued popularity among contemporary readers in France and Italy. The complex history of the collection's revisions and editions testifies to its success but also to the malleability and adaptability of the anthology as a textual format and mode in response to a swiftly changing political world. After the original edition was republished with minor alterations in 1593, the *Thesoro* was substantially extended, refashioned, and subdivided into two books for an edition by the Milanese printers Girolamo Bordone and Pietro Martire Locarni in 1601.[7] Among the additions to this edition were three chapters on the Ottoman Empire in which the author describes its administrative and military apparatuses and reflects on the question of how the seemingly invincible Turks could be overcome. The chapters were culled from the Italian translation of a treatise by René de Lucinge, a diplomat in the service of the Duke of Savoy, entitled *De la Naissance, durée et cheute des Estats,* first published in Paris in 1588. In his treatise, Lucinge contests the thesis that the Ottoman Empire is invincible and argues for a new offensive, a line of reasoning that the Milanese editors adapted for this extended version of the *Thesoro politico.*[8]

The first French translation of the *Thesoro* was issued in 1608. Its publisher, Nicolas du Fossé, reorganized and extended the Italian collection of 1601, adapting it yet again to the political circumstances of early seventeenth-century France and his agenda. Most notably, the "Divisioni di Francia" and Calvinist references of the original *Thesoro* were eliminated from the French translation. These alterations indicate that, contrary to the anonymous French editors of the original *Thesoro,* Fossé supported Henry IV and his politics of religious tolerance, which he promulgated after his enthronement in the Edict of Nantes in 1598.[9] One consequence of the *Thesoro*'s return from Italy to France and its translation was that the truncated and condensed Italian version of Lucinge's treatise on the Ottoman Empire was retranslated into French, now circulating concurrently with Lucinge's original treatise and finding an even wider audience thanks to the popularity of the anthology. Several Latin translations appeared in Frankfurt in 1610. When Rolin publishes the *Trésor*

7. For this summary of the *Trésor*'s editorial history I draw on Balsamo's fundamental research ("Les Origines parisiennes du *Tesoro politico*") and on Michael J. Heath's "Montaigne, Lucinge and the *Thesoro politico,*" *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 45 (1982), pp. 131–35.

8. Balsamo ("'Une parfaite intelligence de la Raison d'Estat,'" pp. 312–18) provides a detailed analysis of the cuts and rearrangements Lucinge's *Naissance* underwent for the 1601 Italian edition. See also Heath, "Montaigne, Lucinge and the *Thesoro politico,*" pp. 131–32.

9. See Balsamo, "'Une parfaite intelligence de la Raison d'Estat,'" pp. 302–3.

once more in 1611, he further expands it by adding a "Discours de la Milice des Turcs" and a "Discours de l'Island." In its final version the collection had grown to a compendium of 922 pages.

This sketch of the *Trésor*'s intricate editorial history not only elucidates the lively exchange of diplomatic reports and political ideas between France and Italy at the turn of the sixteenth century; it also shows how and why the anthological mode lends itself to the construction of a differentiated, complex, and shifting political discourse. Besides its multiplicity of voices and its possibility to maintain the anonymity of the single texts' authors—or, as in the case of Lucinge, to condemn them to namelessness—the anthological mode's creativity and effectiveness reside in the way in which it can easily be adapted to the political climate of the day according to the ideological interests of the editor-printers. It is therefore more than likely that the collection owes its continued popularity in rapidly and drastically changing political environments, to which the translations and numerous editions testify, as much to its anthological mode as to the quality of the single texts.

How the anthological mode functions as a political mode can be demonstrated by a closer analysis of one of the *Trésor*'s most prominent figures, the Turk. The positioning of the treatises on the Ottoman Empire reflects the authors' and editors' deeply ambivalent attitude toward this figure. As Heath and Balsamo have argued, the Turkish treatises serve indirectly to revise traditional ideas of the state at the turn of the sixteenth century. This revision, however, is conditioned by its presentation in the anthological mode. Relying on the anthology's fragmentation into autonomous pieces set in multiple dialogical relationships, the editors are able to propose new ways of thinking about different forms of statehood while assuaging or eluding the tensions that these innovative ideas must have provoked in early modern readers, let alone in their rulers. Critical readings of the *Trésor politique* have focused on the truncation of Lucinge's treatise on the Ottoman Empire while almost no attention has been paid to the way in which the avatars of the *Naissance* function in the anthology. By integrating parts of Lucinge's treatise, the editors of the *Trésor* confront the traditional idea of the Turk as a God-sent scourge with the new understanding of the Ottoman Empire as the incarnation of the modern concept of the reason of state.[10] The creation of a productive tension between such competing ideas about alternative forms of statehood and of an implicit critical dialogue about them depends structurally on the anthological mode.

10. Balsamo argues that the introduction of the modern political idea of reason of state at the turn of the sixteenth century in Italy is intimately related with the debate about the Ottoman Empire on the peninsula which often associates the Turks with Machiavellian principles ("'Une parfaite intelligence de la Raison d'Estat,'" pp. 309–10).

II. Anthologizing the Turk

The Ottoman Empire is among the few civilizations that are present in all three books of the 1608 French translation and, besides Iceland, the only state that receives additional and considerable space in the 1611 edition. Supplementing this edition, the "Discours sur la milice des Turcs" comprises almost sixty pages. The representation of the Turk, along with the discussion of the Ottoman Empire's role as a powerful player in sixteenth-century international politics, thus constitutes a major, recurrent, and guiding theme of the anthology.

In addition to the length of each piece in an anthology, its position is significant. The "Divisioni di Francia," which assumed the symbolic center position in the 1589 *Thesoro,* serves as a case in point. In the same edition, the Ottoman Empire also assumes a prominent place in the anthology's symbolic order of states and peoples. Numerous aspects of the Empire are discussed in three chapters whereas other states are portrayed in only one or, in the case of France, two essays. The treatises on the Turks are placed in a conspicuous position, after the articles on Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain and before the two central texts on France. If we assume that the disposition of the single texts in an anthology is deliberate and defines their relationship to the other texts and their place in the collection as a whole, setting the Ottoman Empire as a textual and symbolic dividing line between France and the other major powers in continental Europe is striking. The discussion of France is followed by the description of England, Flanders and the Italian city-states, Switzerland, Sweden, the Muscovite principality, and Persia. The editors of the *Thesoro* do not seem to follow any obvious principle of order, be it chronological, geographical, or according to the size or form of the state, going back and forth between monarchies, city-states, and empires. For instance, the description of Sweden follows that of Milan, and Persia is discussed last. By locating the three treatises on the Ottoman Empire immediately before the two central pieces on France, the editors create a close relationship between Turkish and French politics and seem to suggest a comparison between the two, France being closer to the Ottoman Empire than to any other continental European state in the symbolic order of the *Thesoro.*

The juxtaposition of the two unequal monarchies is even more striking if one considers that French interest in the Ottoman Empire had continuously waned since the death of Henry II in 1559 and the end of the strategic alliance that his father, Francis I, had forged with the Turks against Charles V and Habsburg hegemony in Europe.[11] The interest in the rising Empire to the East

11. For an elucidating synthesis of this chapter of Franco-Turkish relationships, see Edith Garnier, *L'Alliance impie: François Ier et Soliman le Magnifique contre Charles Quint (1529–1547)* (Paris: Félin, 2008).

subsided quickly due to the concerns about the religious tensions that led to the outbreak of a protracted civil war in 1562, heavily affecting the daily life of the French and preoccupying their minds. After the Ottoman fleet had been defeated by a Spanish-Venetian coalition near Lepanto in 1571, the European myth of the Turks' invincibility was shattered. Why then, at a time of great domestic turmoil and a perceived dwindling Turkish threat to the European continent, did the French editors of the *Thesoro* grant such a high-profile status to the Ottoman Empire?

The anonymous author of the "Relatione di Costatinopoli"—translated into French as "Discours de Constantinople" from which I quote—describes the Ottoman Empire as a civilization that defies the principles of European statecraft and tradition and yet is about to establish a universal monarchy. This paradox can be explained only "par la permission de Dieu" (75). The perceived invincibility of the Turks is all the more unfathomable, the author argues, if one considers the brutal subjection of the populations that have been integrated into the Empire, the conversion of Christian slaves into devout servants to the sultan, the division of the Muslim community into different "opinions" or religious factions, the isolation of the sultan, and the imagined depravity of his harem.

The "Discours" thus recapitulates what were well-worn commonplaces about the Turks by the end of the sixteenth century. Later, however, the anonymous author, whom historians have identified as the Venetian diplomat Marcantonio Barbaro, recommends that the Turks be treated the same way as someone in a ping-pong game with a glass ball. When the partner throws it with verve, one has to receive it gently in order to keep it from breaking and one has to know how to return it cautiously but firmly: "la façon de traitter avec les Turcs est semblable à celuy quy iouë avec une balle de verre, veu que quand son compagnon l'envoye avec force, il ne la faut pas renvoyer avec violence, pource qu'elle vient à se rompre d'une & d'autre sorte, & qu'à ceste occasion il estoit necessaire de la prendre dextrement, & puis de la sçavoir renvoyer vivement . . . parler dignement avec vivacité de coeur, c'est faire ce qui est convenable" (88). Despite his alleged depravity, infidelity, and cruelty, the Turk is considered an adversary who deserves scrutiny and respect. He is even likened to a "compagnon," a companion or mate whom one must encounter with dignity. While this consideration might bespeak most of all the diplomat's immediate concern about successful negotiations with the enemy, it also testifies to the conviction that it is possible to engage the Turks in a political dialogue and that their apparently God-given supremacy might be contained or even overcome simply through a prudent and skillful exchange among partners. The idea of negotiation thus undermines for a short moment the overarching theoretical stance expressed in the "Discours de Constantinople" that the welfare of a state is ultimately deter-

mined by God. Contemplating the geopolitical situation from an ideological position still predominant during the second half of the sixteenth century, the author of the "Discours" interprets the fact that the infidel is allowed to enslave and convert Christians and to command a vast, ever-expanding empire as the scourge that God sent to punish a quarreling Christendom.

The second treatise, whose Italian title was translated into "Discours cõme l'Empire des Turcs, encore que tyrannique et violent, est pour durer longtemps, & invincible par raisons naturelles" for the 1611 edition, both reinforces and significantly modifies this theoretical stance. At the beginning, the anonymous author refers to Aristotle's tenet that violent regimes cannot persist, a position that the rise and perseverance of the Ottoman Empire seem to prove fundamentally wrong. In the vein of the "Discours de Constantinople," the Empire is conceived as the paradox of a powerful, stable, and invincible tyranny. Yet, the author of the second treatise explains this phenomenon with what he calls "natural reasons" by which he means certain principles of the Ottoman government: for instance, the most important functions such as the protection of the sultan and the administration of justice are reserved for converted Christian slaves and denied to "Turcs naturels" (90). Moreover, the Ottoman authorities approve of a libertarian lifestyle, which "naturally" attracts people ("une liberté de la vie, qui est une chose qui alleche si naturellement l'homme," 90). This "liberté de la vie" also creates a feeling of unity among the sultan's subjects that is further strengthened by a powerful central government and an absolutist monarch.

At first glance, the author's reference to Aristotelian political theory and his emphasis on the allegedly natural causes of Ottoman supremacy seem to feed into an attempt to comprehend and rationalize what was perceived as a political and religious paradox. Yet, the rationalization of the geopolitical situation ends there. In order to lend more pertinence to his argument about the natural superiority of the Turks and to establish a stark dichotomy between Christians and infidels, the author explains the victory of Catholic forces over the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto as "un miracle de Dieu" (91). Whereas the sultan's empire prevails "par sa propre force, & par raison naturelle," Christianity can counter the Turkish threat only by "moyens surnaturels" (93), which consist of a true and not merely feigned union of all Christians. The author's political thought thus remains deeply rooted in Christian metaphysics. Any Christian state's welfare depends on the unity of its believers and is an expression of God's grace.

The role of the Turk, however, has shifted from the first to the second treatise. Whereas in the first he was cast as a God-sent scourge, the Turk is now represented as an imposing and indomitable force of nature who requires a supernatural response. If before he was an infidel in the service of God's wrath, he is now dissociated and excluded from any divine influence or control unless, of course,

one considers "nature" itself an expression of the divine in the world. The second "Discours," however, gives no indication of this kind of understanding.

The idea, expounded in the two pieces on the Turks, that Christian nations are protected by God and need to unite in order to combat the infidel, thus puts the next two texts on France in a particular perspective, especially the "Divisioni di Francia." The juxtaposition of the treatises on the Turks and on France entices the reader to an analogical reading and suggests, from the editor-printers' Catholic perspective, the comparison of France's interior conflict with the international confrontation between Christianity and the Ottoman Empire. The French have to unite and soothe God's wrath in order to overcome the Huguenots, the divine scourge and infidel from within. The formation of this unity as well as the installation of a centralized government and a forceful sovereign, however, will require an enormous effort, equaling the same "moyens surnaturels" that the second "Discours" invoked as the necessary means to overcome the Turks.

The anthological mode that enables this political reflection through the symbolic vicinity between the Ottoman Empire and France in the 1589 edition allows Nicolas du Fossé to dissociate the two states and recast their relationship in the French translation of 1608, maintained by Rolin in 1611. Not only did Fossé drop the "Divisioni," he also repositioned the "Discours de France" so that it concludes the first of three books and assumes the final and climactic position in a pageant of nations. On the other hand, Fossé located the original treatises on the Turks at the opposite end, towards the beginning of the first book, framed by the essays on Spain and Venice.

Some forty pages into the second book, two texts—the truncated and retranslated version of Lucinge's treatise on the Turks mentioned above—inaugurate an entirely different discourse on the Ottoman Empire. In the first text, the diplomat Lucinge, who remains unidentified in the *Trésor,* argues that the perceived notion of the Turk's invincibility cannot be sustained if one considers historical facts. According to Lucinge, historical analysis shows that, over a period of 280 years, the Ottomans led thirty-six military campaigns against neighboring countries, of which they won eighteen (417), leaving it up to the reader to conclude that statistically there is a fifty percent chance of winning against the Turks. The author encourages his readers to correct their preconceptions by taking into account other historical experiences and to come to logical conclusions by considering historical evidence: "par les raisons que nous deduirons icy, ils [les Chrestiens] doivent esperer qu'il [le Turc] peut estre facilement surmonté, ainsi que font clairement cognoistre diverses experiences" (416–17). "Raisons," "experiences," and statistics are elements of a new approach to the Turkish paradox and a fundamentally different conceptualization of statehood. In *De la Naissance, durée et cheute des Estats,* Lucinge conceives of the state as

a collective body which is subject to a natural life cycle and argues that, after its rise, the fall of the Ottoman Empire is inevitable and imminent. Religion is defined as a means to appease and control the state's subjects instead of providing supernatural forces to combat an invincible enemy. Among the thirty-nine chapters of *La Naissance,* the editors of the *Thesoro politico* of 1601 selected and conflated those in which Lucinge proposes what has been called psychological warfare as the most effective strategy against the Turks.[12] In order to destabilize the Ottoman Empire, Lucinge suggests, among other means, that the court in Istanbul be infiltrated, the enslaved populations indoctrinated and alienated from their ruler, and that their allegiance to the sultan and the Empire be undermined. All this is laid out in the "Discours comme on pourrait engendrer une alienation de courage" (423–27).

Yet, what applies to the Ottoman Empire is also true for any other state. Lucinge's fragments in the *Trésor politique* configure the Turkish state as one among many, a natural and constantly changing entity that is susceptible to human cunning rather than dependent on God's protection. The Turks, who were previously either demonized as God's scourge or excluded from divine grace and relegated to nature, are now portrayed as equal human beings whose Empire is subject to the same laws of history as the European states. The only difference between the Ottoman Empire and the European powers is that they are at different stages in their life cycles, the former being at its prime and about to begin its natural decline. As an enemy, the Turk becomes vincible precisely because he fights with the same weapons and is prone to the same weaknesses as everybody else.

III. The Autonomy of Reading

In the *Trésor politique,* these three configurations of the Turk—God-sent demon, godless barbarian, and vincible but equal enemy—signify the deep ambivalence of Western diplomats and political thinkers toward the Empire in the East. But they also contribute to a complex conceptualization of the state that is echoed and further developed in other pieces of the anthology. If we return to the initial question of how the continued success of the *Thesoro* from 1589 across Europe can be explained, we may find a partial answer in the different models of statehood the anthology sets into a productive tension. By scrutinizing the treatment of the Ottoman Empire in the *Trésor,* French readers could discover the traditional proposition of a state under God's tutelage and prone to His

12. See Michael J. Heath, *Crusading Commonplaces: La Noue, Lucinge and Rhetoric against the Turks* (Geneva: Droz, 1986), p. 102.

wrath side by side with the idea that states have historically proven unstable but that their development can be rationally analyzed and actively influenced as in the case of the Ottoman Empire. Pondering these alternative conceptions of the state must have been of particular importance to the reading public of a country that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was just emerging from a devastating civil war and still grappling with its traumatic experiences and profound consequences, seeking to reconcile lingering religious and ideological differences under a new sovereign. This process was severely shattered again by the assassination of Henry IV in May 1610, occurring between the publications of Fossé's 1608 and Rolin's augmented 1611 editions.

In this particular historical situation the anthological mode of the *Trésor* might have been even more decisive for the collection's success than the political ideas it contained. What we have constructed so far as a chronological, linear development of political thought in the *Trésor*—from the more traditional understanding of the state under God's tutelage predominant in the 1589 edition to what could be characterized as a more Machiavellian approach to the state propounded in the later editions and French translation[13]—is, of course, only one possible interpretation based on a handful of the anthology's texts revolving around the Ottoman Empire. In their copies of the *Trésor politique,* the readers of 1608 discovered side by side a great many texts lying in front of them like gems amassed in a treasure chest, each precious in its own right and all vying for the readers' attention. More than any other, the anthological mode allows readers to pick and choose according to their interests. It also requires an active engagement with the *Trésor* and its seemingly random juxtaposition of composite texts, like the reading just performed in this article, in order to derive possible meanings from them and their order. In the realm of political ideas, then, the anthological mode fulfills what we might call in modern terms an anti-totalitarian or anti-ideological function. The anthology's inherent multiplicity of voices and the necessity that its mode imposes on the reader to choose and engage with them in order to derive meaning warrant, maybe more than any other textual mode, the freedom of ideological self-positioning. In the uncertain, fragile world of the turn of the sixteenth century, it is this freedom that the editor-printers of the *Trésor* might have sought to promote above all by opting for the anthological mode. In doing so, they ultimately propose this mode, which resists any ideological closure, as a basic condition for the modern state.

13. Heath calls Lucinge an "esprit machiavélique" in "Introduction," René Lucinge, *De la naissance, durée et chute des Estats,* ed. Michael J. Heath (Geneva: Droz, 1984), p. 16.

II. Networks of Texts, Book Producers, and Readers

The Case of the Shrewsbury Book
(British Library Ms. Royal 15 E. vi)

CHAPTER 6

Collecting Images

The Role of the Visual in the Shrewsbury Book (BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi)

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This contribution takes the physical book and its material presence as a subject for analysis and asks how a consideration of the visual narrative within the context of the material object that contains it might inflect understanding of the Shrewsbury Book. In order to lay the groundwork for this visual study, I will outline the state of research of art historical analyses of the Shrewsbury anthology within the interrelated contexts of codicology (that is, the physical structure of the book), artistic practice, and iconography in order to identify future avenues of research on the role of the visual in this collection. These contexts are interdependent, and, as the articles in this volume by Andrew Taylor (chapter 7), Craig Taylor (chapter 8), and Karen Fresco (chapter 9) make clear, they are also shaped by textual traditions and by the historical moment in which the particular performance embodied in this manuscript was made and received.

Appendix One at the end of this chapter outlines the relationship between the textual contents, codicological structure, and artistic participation in the Shrewsbury Book. A comparison of the textual content and quire structure that it outlines makes clear that the book's designer conceptualized each text as a unit—so that, for example, the *Livre de la conqueste du roy Alexandre* (text 3) ends with a quire containing four folios, rather than eight folios as was standard in the manuscript, because that was all that was needed to complete the text. In contrast, the scale of miniatures, indicated in the third column of Appendix One where artistic hands are described and then expanded in Appendix Two, presents a visual hierarchy that structures the manuscript as a complete book.

Full-page miniatures accompany the dedicatory verses and the opening of the first full text, the Alexander Romance, while two-column wide miniatures introduce the different texts. Single column miniatures suggest that *Ogier le Danois* (text 5) was presented here as a continuation of *Fierabras,* the third book of the *Livre de Charlemainne* (text 4), just as the *Heraud of Ardennes* is a sequel or continuation of *Le livre de Guy de Warrewik.* The single-column miniatures given Honorat Bouvet's *Arbre de batailles* (text 10) and the *Livre de politique* (text 11) are anomalies; might these books have been viewed as distinct, and perhaps lesser, than the others? Perhaps they constitute an abbreviated Mirror of Princes that signals a transition from the section of the manuscript dedicated to romance to the section that contains chronicles and chivalric material.[1]

I. Artistic Style and Codicology

Scholars have securely identified the four artistic styles employed in the Shrewsbury Book, three of which are localized to Rouen.[2] The most dominant style is that of the Talbot Illuminators—a more appropriate epithet than the Talbot Master, the appellation used by François Avril and Catherine Reynolds, who identify works painted in the style and observe that multiple illuminators produced their images.[3] The collaboration of many illuminators working in a

1. For another possible interpretation, see Karen Fresco's contribution in this volume, chapter 9, p. 159n27 and pp. 160–61.

2. For discussion of the diverse artists who collaborated in the Shrewsbury Book, see Catherine Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E.VI," *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen,* ed. Jenny Stratford (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993), pp. 109–16; François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), cat. 7, pp. 37–38, cat. 43, pp. 92–93, cat. 88, pp. 170–71; François Avril's contribution to *Creating French Culture,* ed. Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Prosser Gifford (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), cat. 34, pp. 95–96; *Gothic Art for England,* ed. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: V&A Publications, 2003), cat. 42, pp. 182–83, cat. 94, pp. 230–31; and Catherine Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-century Normandy," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages,* ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hanbledon Press, 1994), pp. 299–313.

3. They group the following works around the artists of the Shrewsbury Book. To the Talbot Master, who began his career in Paris before fleeing with the English and settling in Rouen after 1336, are attributed all but one illustration of a *recueil* of texts made for the *échevins* of Rouen shortly after 1450 (BnF Ms. fr. 126); a Valerius Maximus (BR Ms. 9078); copies of Boccaccio's *De cleres femmes* (BL Ms. Royal 16 G V) and *Des cas des nobles homes et femmes* (BL Ms. Royal 18 D VII); The Shrewsbury Book (BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi) ca. 1445 and diverse Books of Hours—one for the use of Rouen (BnF Ms. lat. 13283 and its other half, sold at Sotheby's 25 June 1985, Lot 97), one for the use of Paris (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, Ms. 545, destroyed), one for the use of Thérouenne (BAV, Ms. Vat. lat. 14935, painted in collaboration with two other artists, one of whom is close to the Master of Sir John Fastolf), one for Sarum usage (Dohent sale, part 2, London, Christie's, 2 December 1987, Lot. 160), one for Coutances usage (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 61), and finally two for John Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 40–1950 and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, deposit of the Blairs College Library). The Talbot Master also painted the

single style is not surprising given what is known about fifteenth-century book production in Rouen.[4] Rowan Watson's research suggests that the structure of the Rouen book trade was similar to that in Paris, except that there was no university in Rouen; artists lived in households in one or two neighborhoods of the city and *libraires* (that is, bookseller/editors) employed scribes and artists as needed to complete projects.[5] Collaboration of all sorts was possible, because of the proximity of artists in neighborhoods.

The Talbot Illuminators were probably one such family or small workshop group in Rouen who contributed to books overseen by *libraires* for Rouen-based patrons. In addition to the Shrewsbury Book, they painted at least two other manuscripts for John Talbot, one of which is an unusually proportioned Book of Hours (figure 1) made around 1444 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 40–1950).[6] This book is tall and narrow, and significantly smaller than the Shrewsbury Book.[7] The Talbot Illuminators also collaborated on another elaborate literary anthology around 1450 (figure 2) for the library of the *échevinage,* or city council, of Rouen.[8] At 430 × 310 mm, this manuscript is the only other book painted by them to approach the scale of the Shrewsbury Book. Comparison of the prayer book and the *échevinage*'s anthology with the Shrewsbury Book's opening pages (figure 3) reveals that images painted in the Talbot style have certain hallmarks: they are characterized by sharply drawn figures arrayed in centralized compositions in clearly defined spaces. The artists use bright, saturated colors and like to punctuate their skies with stars. At major textual divisions, they employ borders that are creative variations on a basic formula, in which plaque borders fill the portion of the page near the book's spine and a

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dedication miniature in Jean Galopes's translation of Bonaventure's *Meditations sur la vie de Christ* (BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 6520), dedicated to Henry V, and collaborated ca. 1430–40 with the Master of the Munich Golden Legend on a Rouen Book of Hours now in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale Ms. I.B.27), and he painted the first half of Nicole Oresme's translation of Aristotle's *Ethics, Politics, and Economics* (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. I,2 (927) whose second half was painted by the Master of Aristotle's Ethics ca. 1454–55.

4. For this and the following, see the concise introduction to the Rouen book trade in Rowan Watson, *The Playfair Hours: A Late Fifteenth-Century Illuminated Manuscript from Rouen (Victoria and Albert, L.475–1918)* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), pp. 23–34.

5. See Watson, *The Playfair Hours,* and for the structure of the Parisian book trade, Richard and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200–1500,* 2 vols. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000); and Kouky Fianu, "Métiers et espace: Topographie de la fabrication et du commerce du livre à Paris (XIIIe–XVe siècles)," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400,* ed. Godefried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), pp. 21–45.

6. All of the figures for Part II are found are the end of Part II, pp. 179–88.

7. Compare the scale of the Book of Hours (275 × 110 mm) with that of the Shrewsbury Book (470 × 340 mm).

8. For this book see Claudia Rabel, "Artiste et clientèle à la fin du Moyen Âge: les manuscrits profanes du Maître de l'échevinage de Rouen," *Revue de l'art* 84 (1989), pp. 48–60.

mix of colorful floral or acanthus leaves alternating with thinner pen spirals are placed in the corners of the margins and often punctuate the wider side margin. Occasionally the artists incorporate a "wreath" in the lower center margin. This basic formula, employed in the *échevinage*'s anthology, could be elaborated, as it was in both of John Talbot's commissions, by the inclusion of armorial blazons or devices and by the proliferation of daisies (marguerites) in the margins of both the Shrewsbury Book and the Book of Hours; these were conveniently bivalent allusions to the first name of both Margaret of Anjou and of John Talbot's wife Margaret Beauchamp (compare figures 1 and 3). This employment of daisies serves as a reminder that model drawings can be used flexibly and be deployed in different contexts and as an encouragement to scholars to take artistic practice into account in iconographic interpretation.

Three other artists worked sporadically in the manuscript. The second painter, the Master of Lord Hoo's *Book of Hours* (made around 1444 when Lord Hoo was governor of Normandy), contributed a bifolium with twelve miniatures to the last quire of the *Roman d'Alexandre.*[9] A third painter working in the style of the Bedford Illuminators painted the frontispiece to the Alexander and possibly a bifolium with six miniatures in its last quire.[10] This style was widely popular in France with practitioners in both Paris and Rouen. The painter working in Bedford style seems to have worked on another commission of the Talbots: The Book of Hours of Margaret Beauchamp, the Countess of Shrewsbury. Like John Talbot's Book of Hours, Margaret's has an unusual tall and thin format: 220 × 110 mm. The most striking stylistic similarity between the Alexander images painted by this artist and the prayer book occurs in the settings of both miniatures with their green tiled floors and arcaded walls. In addition to contributing to the *Roman d'Alexandre,* this artist also added heralds and coats of arms to the margins of the initial folios in the books of Charlemagne, the *Quatre fils Aimon,* the romance of Pontus and Sidoine, the Book of Guy de Warwick, and the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. In addition, pale marginal sketches suggest that arms were planned, but not executed by him at the beginnings of the *Chanson de geste* of Ogier le Danois, the *Chevalier*

9. The Master of Lord Hoo is named after a *Book of Hours* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, Ms. 12 R 31). On this artist, see Leslie L. Williams, "A Rouen book of hours of the Sarum use, ca. 1444, belonging to Thomas, Lord Hoo, Chancellor of Normandy and France," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 75 section C 9 (1975), pp. 189–212; Leslie L. Williams, "A French book of hours in the Royal Irish Academy," *Arts in Ireland* 2.3 (1974), pp. 32–39.

10. An artist related in style to the Bedford Master collaborated on the *Roman d'Alexandre* in the Shrewsbury Book and painted a book of hours for John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 41–1951). For the proliferation of the Bedford style, see Catherine Reynolds, "The Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford: Definitions and Identities," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400,* ed. Godefried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), pp. 437–72.

au Cygne, the translation of Gile of Rome's *De regimine principum* by Henri de Gauchi, and the *Chronique de Normandie.* Finally, the fourth painter, who completed folios 266r and 293r is an unidentified illuminator whose work has not been found elsewhere.

Given the short time between the proxy betrothal in 1444 and the dates when John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp joined the entourage that escorted Margaret of Anjou from Nancy to Rouen and on to London in February–April 1445, it is highly likely that there was a rush to complete the Shrewsbury Book.[11] In such cases, *libraires* would streamline production by partitioning work among scribes and then distributing completed quires to diverse artists located in the town who were informed about what to paint by written directions or by sketches in margins or in the blanks left for the miniatures. The fact that two artists painted the last quire of the Alexander; that one of them also contributed the frontispiece miniature for Alexander and added the heralds bearing Margaret of Anjou's arms and the banner with the Shrewsbury arms to the margins of folios 25r, 155r, 207r, 227r, and 439r; and that another artist painted miniatures on folios 266v and 293r suggests that local artists were called upon to speed completion of the manuscript. Haste may explain why heralds sketched in the margins of folios 273r and possibly 363r were never completed. On the other hand, it may be that the sketched but uncompleted arms on folio 327r were left unfinished to correct an error, because this image is a single column wide and other single-column miniatures, such as that illustrating the text that begins on folio 293r, do not have marginal heraldry.

Thus a *libraire* coordinated artists who finished up, possibly while the Talbot Illuminators were producing the frontispiece and presentation images for the whole manuscript (figure 3) and a scribe was drafting the table of contents on fol. 1v and, perhaps, writing the rubrics that appear at the end of all but two texts to announce the beginning of the text that follows.

What remains puzzling is the lack of even a sketch for a herald at the beginnings of Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles* and Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes.* Why do these particular texts introduced by two-column miniatures not have them? Was the inclusion of Chartier and Christine an afterthought?[12] It seems that the system of signatures (usually something used consistently by a scribe) changes within Christine de Pizan's text. Could different scribes have written these quires as the book was being rushed to completion? Might the *libraire* have been unable to get the quires to the Master of Lord Hoo's Book of Hours in time for him to sketch and paint heralds? More careful codicologi-

11. For discussion of these historical circumstances, see Catherine Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," and Andrew Taylor's contribution to this volume, chapter 7, pp. 122–23.

12. See Karen Fresco's contribution in this collection, chapter 9, pp. 158–61.

cal examination of scribal hands in relation to the quire structures might help answer these questions.

Codicological analysis of secondary decoration in the margins, which appears only on pages with miniatures and which alters with changes in artistic hands may also aid in clarifying artistic practice. Because this secondary decoration is restricted to folios with images, it most likely was the responsibility of the painters of the miniatures. For instance, within the *Roman d'Alexandre,* facing folios painted by the Master of Lord Hoo's Book of Hours and by an artist working in the style of the Bedford Master (folios 21v–22r or 23v–24r) reveal contrasting styles of pen flourishes. Miniatures by the Master of Lord Hoo's Book of Hours are decorated by marginalia made up of a delicate pen sprig with gold leaves that appear almost exclusively on the exterior of the vine; he uses colored buds sparingly as accents. By contrast, the Bedford-style artist decorates miniatures with a thicker block of decoration, in which gold leaves and occasional flowers embellished with blue or rose and gold spring from both sides of the pen-drawn tendrils. Marginal decoration differs even within the section of the *Roman d'Alexandre* painted by Talbot Illuminators. Quire 2 and the outer bifolium of quire 3 (folios 5r–13v and folio 20r) were decorated by a different artist from the one who painted the margins of images on the inner three bifolios of quire 3 (folios 14r–19v). Such studies of secondary decoration provide insight into the practices of individual artists, and might help clarify the orchestration of this complex book, thereby offering insight into the intertwined roles of those who shaped the book.

II. Artistic Style and Iconography

Consideration of the relationship between artistic style and iconography suggests possible lines of research to frame future visual analysis of the manuscript and to begin to understand the production of the book and creation of its imagery. A first line of research would consider the distinct visual traditions for the diverse texts assembled in the Shrewsbury Book in order to understand how typical or how different their cycles are from visual cycles of the same texts in contemporary manuscripts.[13] The ideal comparative examples would come from manuscripts associated with artists, *libraires,* or patrons from Rouen, because their analysis could isolate deliberate choices on the part of those involved in the production of the manuscript. These cycles would enable us to explore the kind of reciprocal reading that Nancy Freeman Regalado discusses in her contribution to this volume (chapter 2, pp. 42ff. and note 35), in this case among

13. See, for instance, Karen Fresco's discussion of the manuscript tradition of Pontus et Sidoine in this collection, chapter 9, pp. 157–58.

the makers (the artists, scribes and *libraries*) the patron (John Talbot) and the audiences (Margaret of Anjou and, I would argue, Henry VI).[14]

For example, manuscripts of the textual family of the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Prose B) that appears in the Shrewsbury Book typically have extensive visual cycles, so it is not surprising that the *Roman d'Alexandre* is the most densely illustrated text in the Shrewsbury Book. However neither it nor other Alexander manuscripts seems to copy a standard Alexander cycle, which suggests that visual cycles for this romance were carefully tailored. How precisely this happened remains to be determined, but isolated studies of Alexander cycles offer successful models to extend the analysis of the *Roman d'Alexandre* in the Shrewsbury manuscript. For instance, Yorio Otaka, Hideka Fukui, and Christine Ferlampin-Acher considered illustrations of the Shrewsbury Book's *Roman d'Alexandre* within the physical context of the manuscript page.[15] They analyzed relationships between rubrics and images, the conceptualization of facing pages—openings—as units, and between sequences or subsets of images within the manuscript, and, in doing so, effectively described the *Roman d'Alexandre*'s visual syntax. It would be useful to explore whether other densely illuminated texts within the Shrewsbury Book, such as the *Livre du roy Pontus,* are syntactically similar.

Maud Pérez-Simon took a different approach in her dissertation on illuminations of the prose Alexander and a publication of a fifteenth-century *Roman d'Alexandre* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 651) from the same textual family as the Shrewsbury Book's.[16] By comparing the Chantilly cycle to several other Alexander cycles, she isolated six miniatures that were unique to the Chantilly *Roman d'Alexandre.* Arguing that their uniqueness suggested they had been deliberately chosen, she interpreted the miniatures in relation to their text and patronage to offer a political interpretation of portions of the cycle. Her dissertation's preliminary analysis of the *Roman d'Alexandre* within the dual contexts of other illuminated versions of the *Roman d'Alexandre* and of the echos between the Roman d'Alexandre's images and those illustrating other texts in the Shrewsbury Book, suggests that a comparative approach will be useful in

14. For discussion of audiences, see Andrew Taylor's contribution, chapter 7.

15. *Roman d'Alexandre en prose (British Library, Royal 15.E.VI, fols. 2v–24v),* ed. Yorio Otaka, Hideka Fukui, and Christine Ferlampin-Acher (Osaka: Centre de la Recherche interculturelle à l'Université Otemae, 2003).

16. See Maud Pérez-Simon, "Mise en roman et mise en images: les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre en prose. Pour une stylistique de la traduction," PhD diss., Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris III, 2008, and Maud Pérez-Simon, "Mise en scène du corps et discours politique dans un manuscript du Roman d'Alexandre en prose du XVe siècle," in *Conter de Troie et d'Alexandre pour Emmanuèle Baumgartner,* ed. Laurence Harf-Lancner, Laurence Mathey-Maille, and Michelle Szkilnik (Paris: Presses Sorbonne La Nouvelle, 2006), pp. 271–89.

analysis of that anthology.[17]

Both the syntactical approach and the analysis of individual cycles offer possible models for analyzing the densely illuminated texts in the Shrewsbury Book: the *Roman d'Alexandre,* the *Roman de Pontus et Sidoine,* and the *Livre de Regnault de Montaubain.* But even after completing this analysis of the interaction between artists and the individual visual traditions for texts available in Rouen, we need to consider an often-neglected aspect of visual syntax by analyzing how images of the individual texts—like the texts themselves—establish extra-textual relationships. How might artists or even the *libraire* consciously manipulate visual traditions to create linkages across openings or among texts within the anthology or among manuscripts that might, in exceptional cases, act independently of their texts?

III. Setting the Stage: The Presentation-Genealogy Opening

A final example from the Shrewsbury Book will emphasize the importance of contextually grounded visual analyses as a research tool by reading the visual aspects of the manuscript's justly famous opening on folios 2v–3r, discussed in this volume by Andrew Taylor (chapter 7, pp. 121–22), in which the presentation miniature and dedicatory poem to Margaret of Anjou face the genealogical tree (figure 3). Scholars analyzing text and image of the left half of this opening usually interpret the image as an illustration of the poem, which conditioned them to identify the miniature's subject as Margaret of Anjou's reception of John Talbot's gift of the manuscript, an unproblematic illustration of gift giving. Analysis of the genealogical table on the right half of the opening usually concentrates on its spectacular core image of the fleur-de-lis, which shows the descent of Henry VI from Saint Louis. Scholars compare it to its possible source, the image accompanied by a poem by Jacques Calot posted in Notre Dame and other locations at the order of the Duke of Bedford in 1423, and note that John Talbot's father-in-law had the poem translated into English by John Lydgate in 1426.[18] Such considerations of individual elements contribute significantly to an understanding of the opening, but they have also obscured the ways in which the two facing pages function as a visual unit. Perhaps as a counterpoint to the poem's emphasis on Margaret of Anjou and as a comple-

17. Pérez-Simon, "Mise en roman," pp. 446–56. In this discussion, she has already noted visual thematic echoes between illustrations of marriage within several texts in the Shrewsbury Book.

18. For discussion of the genealogical table, see B[enedicta] J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem," *The Library,* 4th Series 13 (1932), pp. 77–88, and J. W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422–1432," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp. 145–62. McKenna also discusses Lydgate's translation of 1426, as does Craig Taylor in his contribution to this volume, chapter 8, p. 148.

ment to the visual genealogy on the facing page, visual evidence in the miniature on folio 2v emphasizes Henry VI as co-recipient of the book and places more stress on his relationship as husband to Margaret than previously noted. The heraldic embellishments in particular associate King Henry VI of England and Margaret of Anjou with John Talbot and, possibly, even with John's wife, Margaret Beauchamp, in ways that sometimes resonate with the dedicatory poem addressed to Margaret of Anjou and sometimes function independently of it. The visual reading established through composition and heraldry in these facing pages was as transparent among fifteenth-century Rouennais book circles as were the words of the dedicatory poem. Because artists, patron, and audience for this book read heraldry as easily as words, the visual frames for the dedication scene and genealogical tree that modern scholars work to decipher were evident. It framed and unified the initial opening, while providing a transition to the illuminated pages that followed.

Distinctive aspects of the presentation scene emerge through comparison with other works painted by the artists of the Shrewsbury Book; these reveal elements of the dedicatory miniature that draw on visual traditions known to John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp, to the Talbot Illuminators, and possibly, to *libraires* who worked for John and Margaret. For instance, the architectural frame for John Talbot's presentation to Margaret of Anjou derives from a shop model also employed by the Talbot illuminators in the *échevinage*'s anthology (compare figures 4 and 5). This model featured a cut-away building with three oriel windows on its exterior, of which the two at the left flank a two-storied, gabled, half-timbered section of the building.[19] Flags or pennons fly from the roof. The model offered artists the opportunity to manipulate the architectural frame to divide space into two parts with flexible scale responsive to the needs of the composition—as its deployment in the *échevinage*'s anthology and the Shrewsbury Book illustrates. The scene of Cicero teaching and the presentation of Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Cicero to Duke Louis of Bourbon are placed in permeable spaces in the *échevins*'s anthology, because the teachings are as much the subject of the image as the duke's reception of them—an idea reinforced by the duke's extended right hand. By contrast, the main subject of the dedication image in the Shrewsbury Book is the presentation of the book, and the men and women to left and right watch from adjacent spaces, emphatically excluded from the royal space by the edges of the bench on which the king and queen sit.

Several gestures within the scene of Talbot's presentation to Margaret of Anjou are unusual. The male spectator at the left closest to the king raises his

19. François Avril first noticed this similarity. See Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures,* p. 170, and Tesnières, ed., *Creating French Culture,* p. 96.

left hand and points toward the royal couple with his right, indicating the gestures of the enthroned king and queen as much as Talbot's presentation of a book to the royal pair. Henry VI holds his scepter in his right hand and places his left hand within the queen's; this pose adapts a model that the Talbot Illuminators used later in the manuscript in the scene in which Henry invests John Talbot as constable of France (figure 6). In contrast, the queen cradles her husband's left hand in her right, while simultaneously holding her scepter in her left hand and touching the top of the book with her extended fingers in an awkward, if not impossible, gesture. The illuminator could have shown her in the moment before accepting the gift, as a Talbot Illuminator would do with Duke Louis of Bourbon in the *échevins*'s book (see figure 5). But apparently it was essential in this dedication miniature that Margaret of Anjou have the attributes of queenship—her scepter and crown—and that she both touch the book in recognition of Talbot's gift and clasp Henry VI's hand as an expression of their union.

The gesture that marks the queen's acceptance of the gift was probably necessary to clarify visually what the dedication verses below make explicit: that the book was presented to the queen. The meaning of the gesture between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, however, is less clear. At first glance, it does not seem to be a gesture of marriage, because it is customary to represent spouses joining right hands almost as though they were shaking them, usually in the presence of a third party who joins their hands. However, in a few rare cases when it was important to show one spouse doing two things at once, one member of the couple does lay a hand within the other member's as happens in the presentation scene of the Shrewsbury Book.[20] Thus this gesture deriving from a marriage context envisions Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou at an undetermined future date, married and crowned as king and queen of England, thereby offering a

20. There are many scenes of marriage in painting. A search for "marriage" on the website of digitalized manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (available at http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html) yielded seventy images from western European manuscripts, the vast majority of which represented marriage by having a third party joining the right hands of the man and woman. In most cases where the hands were already joined, the man's hand was on top of the female's, as for instance in the marriages of Eneas and Lavinia (BnF Ms. fr. 60 fol. 162r), Alexander and Roxanne (BnF Ms. fr. 257, fol. 154r), Artus and Florence (BnF Ms. fr. 761, fol. 141v), and Arthur and Guinevere (BnF Ms. fr. 9123, fol. 239r).

Only one scene of marriage among the seventy evoked the gesture of left and right hands found in the scene of presentation, and that was the illustration of the marriage of Syphax and Sophonisba in *Tite-Live,* the French vernacular rendering of Livy (BnF Ms. fr. 274, fol. 262r). In this miniature, King Syphax lays his right hand in his queen's left as he turns from the ceremony to hand a letter to a kneeling messenger as demanded by the miniature's rubric: "Comment le roy siphace espousa la fille hasdrubal et comment il envoya les legaz a scipion." It seems that the left hand–right hand joining in marriage scenes results in images in which figures are engaged in multiple activities, which seems to be the case as well in the famous Arnolfini Portrait in the National Gallery in London, which shows a couple standing in a domestic interior clasping hands as the husband raises his hand in greeting.

counterpoint to the presentation verses below the miniature, which describe Henry VI as the fiancé of Margaret of Anjou.[21] As both Brigitte Buettner and Eric Inglis have noted, such a projection into the future is a common feature of presentation scenes, which obviously have to be painted before the actual presentation that the scene represents takes place.[22]

Henry VI's presence and action in the miniature recasts its subject to include an important representation of the royal couple, and heraldry establishes that Henry is the most important of the royal pair. Heraldic display demarcates the bigger section of the building at left as the king's; three flags displaying the arms of France, Saint George and England fly from the oriels and gable above the half-timbered portion of the building at the left, and the English arms appear in the gable and scattered on the cloth behind the bench in the space shared by the monarchs. In contrast, Anjou arms fly from a single flag in Margaret of Anjou's half of the building on the less important heraldic left, and Margaret's arms as queen of England (the Angevin arms impaled with England's) appears in the lower margin within a wreath sprouting canting daisies, or marguerites.

Below this, at the very bottom of the page on the blank white of the parchment, are visual and textual references to another couple: John Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp (see figure 7). The arrangement in the lower margin within the garter of the Order of Saint George of a particular version of Talbot's arms, in which his wife's are displayed in pretence, brings her family and their marriage into the picture. Further, the poem beginning "Mon seul desir" and the clump of blooming daisies (marguerites), which could refer to Talbot's wife Margaret as easily as to Margaret of Anjou, recalls the arms and emblems in the prayer book painted by the Talbot illuminators for John and Margaret (compare figure 1), in which daisies, the motto *mon seul desir,* the arms of John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp, and the garter appear juxtaposed with other personal emblems in reference to John and Margaret. Even if Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou were unaware of the use of the motto and daisies by the Talbots, the artist, the *libraire,* John Talbot, and Margaret Beauchamp were quite capable of understanding the lower margin as referring to John and Margaret as a second couple associated in marriage.

The marginalia also serves as an embellishment of the figure of Talbot presenting the book in the miniature above it. Talbot's robe scattered with garters acts almost as a *sigillum* to infuse the message of the lower margin into the space

21. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," p. 110, suggests that the presentation poem refers to Henry as "le vostre affye," even though Margaret of Anjou was treated by the French as though she were queen from the moment she was betrothed in Tours.

22. See Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Year's Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), pp. 598–625; and Erik Inglis, "A Book in the Hand: Some Late Medieval Accounts of Manuscript Presentations," *Journal of the Early Book Society* 5 (2002), pp. 57–97.

of presentation, which Talbot alone shares with the royal couple. It is as though Talbot speaks the poem that appears between the garter and the daisies in the margin as he presents the Shrewsbury Book:

Mon seul desir
Au Roy et vous
Et bien servir
Jusquau mourir
Ce sachent tous
Mon seul desir
Au Roy et vous

[My sole desire for the king and you is to serve you well until death. Let everyone know: my sole desire for the king and you].

Talbot dedicates seventeen of sixty-eight lines of his dedicatory poem below this miniature to genealogical concerns, which are the focus of the large image that fills the right page of the dedicatory opening. Within the poem, Talbot refers to the chart as demonstrating incontrovertibly that Henry VI descends from the direct line of Saint Louis.

Ou livre a une figure
Geneaulogie nommee
Par la quelle est tres bien prouvee
Verite demonstrant a plain
Que le roy nostre souverain,
Le vostre affye que dieux gart,
Est venu de si noble part
Comme du bon Roy saint louys.
Si estes vous certain en suys.
Par celle hystoire veoir pourrez
De quel et quantiesme degrez
Le roy nostre dit souverain
Est descendu il est certain
Cest en luitiesme degre.

[In the book is a figure called a genealogy which proves plainly showing the truth that the king our sovereign, your fiancé whom God should protect, is come from such a noble place as good King Saint Louis, as you can know with certainty. By looking at this miniature (*hystoire*) you will be able to see of which and to what degree the king our sovereign is descended (from Saint Louis). It is certain that it is in the eighth degree.]

One of his closing wishes for Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI, expressed after his prayer to the Virgin Mary that she petition Christ for a long and peaceful reign, for victory over enemies and protection of friends, is that their marriage will generate progeny to extend the line:

> Et vous veuille lignie donner
> Qui après vous puisse regné
> En paix et en transquilité
>
> [and may (he) give you descendants who can reign after you in peace and tranquility].

These two aspects, the past and future of the line, are the subject of the visualization of the family tree and its marginalia on the facing page.

Others have noted that the genealogical tree (figure 8) represents descent from Saint Louis, a claim that had fueled English and French polemic throughout the Hundred Years' War.[23] The central petal lays out the direct line of France from Saint Louis to the four children of Philip IV on a field of fleurs-de-lis; the collateral line of France descended from Charles of Valois [Ligne colatteralle de france] appears on the left petal against a field of fleurs-de-lis, and the English line [Ligne d'angleterre] beginning with Edward I fills the right petal. Within the right petal Edward I and his son Edward II, who married Isabelle, the French King Philip IV's daughter, appear on a field covered with gold rampant lions on red; subsequent English kings appear against the arms of France impaled with England, which Edward III assumed in 1340 to assert his claim to France through Isabelle.

Bands that pass behind the central petal of the fleur-de-lis connect the kings in the two side petals. They establish that John II the Good and Edward III are "cousins au second degre"; Charles V, Edward the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt are "cousins au tiers degre"; Charles VI, Richard II, and Henry IV are "cousins au quart degre." Charles VII, who was disowned by the Treaty of Troyes, is not in the chart. His sister, Catherine, whose band connects her to Henry V as "cousins au Ve degre," takes his place.

The genealogical tree emphasizes the symmetry and continuity of the English line, using degrees of relationship to Saint Louis and the visual continuity provided by the background of impaled French and English arms to blur breaks in English succession, while emphasizing breaks in succession in the French

23. For polemical use of representations of Louis IX, see Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the "Grandes Chroniques de France" 1274–1422* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). For the discussion of this image within the polemic generated by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, see Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim;" McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy"; and Craig Taylor in this volume, chapter 8, pp. 147–48.

line. Thus, the line of Saint Louis represented in the middle petal of the fleur-de-lis ends with the last direct Capetians—Philip IV's children, Louis X, Philip V, Charles IV, and Isabelle—only to shift to a collateral line in the left petal with Philip III's brother, Charles, count of Valois, who is connected to yet distanced from the central French petal by labels that identify him as son of Philip III and brother of Philip IV. By contrast, the English line on the right petal masks a comparable situation. The labels that connect the central French petal to the English petal concentrate on the association of French and English lines by marriage; playing up traditional queenly roles, they label Isabelle as wife of Edward II [Fame edouart] and mother of Edward III [Mere edouart]. Edward III's immediate descendants present the shift from Plantagenet to Lancastrian lines. First Edward III's sons, Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, appear within a single roundel, wearing coronets and holding banderoles that identify them, respectively, as the father of Richard II and of Henry IV and as descended from Saint Louis in the fifth degree. They are followed by a roundel that contains Edward's and John's sons, King Richard II and King Henry IV, each identified in the banderole they hold as king and descended from Saint Louis in the sixth degree. Henry V follows smoothly, even though his succession, like that of the Capetians to Valois, involved a collateral line.

In keeping with the dictates of the Treaty of Troyes, the French line ends by merging with the English. In the left petal, Count Charles of Valois is succeeded by King Philip VI, John II, Charles V, and Charles VI, each identified with a banderole that also provides their degree of succession from Saint Louis. The last of the French line in this English version of events is Charles VI's daughter, Catherine of Valois, whose banderole describes her as daughter of France, queen of England, and descendent of Saint Louis to the seventh degree. Like Isabelle, the only other woman depicted within the genealogy, she is categorized in a band that connects her to her husband as wife [Fame du Roy henri]. Their offspring, appearing at the juncture of all three petals, is Henry VI, whom angels crown with two crowns and who bears the longest banderole, inscribed "Henri par la grace de dieu Roy de france et dangleterre" and identifying him as descended from Saint Louis in the eighth degree. With its emphasis on descent from Saint Louis, this image may be an English reworking of the French *Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli magni,* the prophecy that seven generations after the usurpation of the French throne by Hugh Capet, France would be returned to a ruler of Carolingian descent.[24] Just as King Philip Augustus's marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut and the birth of their son (Louis VIII) accomplished the

24. On the *reditus* see Gabrielle Spiegel, "The *Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni:* A New Look," *French Historical Studies* 7 (1971–72), pp. 145–74; and Andrew Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 114–22.

reditus, so Henry V's marriage to Catherine of Valois and the birth of Henry VI is presented as returning the French throne to a ruler directly descended from Saint Louis. Henry VI is as many generations removed from Saint Louis as Louis VIII was from Hugh Capet.

Marginalia surrounding the dynastic chart extends its message in order to emphasize the future strength of Henry VI's union with Margaret of Anjou. The arms of France and the cross of Saint George within a garter flank the central petal of the fleur-de-lis adjacent to Saint Louis, the saintly ancestor claimed by both France and England. The Anjou arms and a crowned "M" for Margaret of Anjou, both enclosed by the garter, flank the tip of the fleur-de-lis with its culminating figure of Henry VI. These allusions to Henry and Margaret of Anjou's union and, in the context of the family tree, to the progeny that will issue from them, are bracketed by figures representing Richard, Duke of York and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the English princes of the blood who were next in line for the throne. They stand on hillocks in the lower margin dressed in rich robes and wearing coronets as they support the weight of the dynastic fleur-de-lis. Identified by adjacent coats of arms, Richard and Humphrey enclose the space within which the new king (figured in the fleur-de-lis) and queen (alluded to both heraldically and symbolically) are joined, as they had been in person in the presentation scene of the opposite page. Indeed, the portrayal of these dukes suggests that Richard and Humphrey probably are the two men with coronets closest to the king in the presentation painting on the facing page (see figure 4). Finally, the motif located in the outer margin of the genealogical tree emphasizes the union once again by showing Margaret of Anjou's arms as queen of England supported by the Lancastrian emblem of an antelope.

As the pages of the manuscript are turned, the painted expression of John Talbot's support for the royal couple continues. In the opening beginning the *Roman d'Alexandre* (figure 9), two of Talbot's heralds wear his arms; one holds the king's arms in the outer right margin and the other supports the queen's in the outer left margin. Talbot's own arms appear on a flag planted in the ground at the lower center of each page of this opening. On subsequent pages, the heraldic display in the margins at the openings of new texts becomes simpler. On these folios the marginal display of heraldry includes Margaret of Anjou, whose arms appear on a standard held by one of John Talbot's heralds, and John Talbot whose arms decorate a standard planted firmly in the lower margin. A lesson about the marriage has been learned in the first folios and the rest, following the conceit of the dedication poem, seem directed primarily at Margaret of Anjou, although John Talbot is enshrined throughout the manuscript as a supporter of the royal house—not through blood like the physical supporters of the fleur-de-lis, but through his dedication to the queen.

The visual layering of the opening pages of the Shrewsbury Book offers the royal couple a dynastic frame designed both to guide their experience of the texts that follow and to promote John Talbot's and Margaret Beauchamp's relationship with the young king and queen. It also offers an introduction to the value of looking that may also be exploited in the illustrations of the texts gathered within the manuscript anthology. The exact nature of the contribution of visual imagery both to the texts they illustrate and to cross-textual or extra-textual dialogue will emerge only after the images and their texts are thoroughly analyzed within the book-producing, literary, and cultural contexts of mid-fifteenth century Rouen. Once this is done, the cycle of illustrations in the Shrewsbury Book will offer yet another insight into the time of the anthology, to borrow Andrew Taylor's formulation.

APPENDIX 1

Codicological Structure of the Shrewsbury Book

TEXT AND FOLIO	QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)*	NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES	ARTISTS	CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/ QUESTIONS
1. fol. 2v Dedicatory verses, thirty-four couplets.	Quire 1?	2-column presentation miniature with full border	Talbot Illuminators	Book too tightly bound to see structure of first quire containing 6 folios.
2. fol. 3r Genealogical table of descendants of St. Louis, in the form of a fleur-de-lis.	Quire 1?	Full-page miniature	Talbot Illuminators	
3. fol. 4v *Le liure de la conqueste du roy Alixandre* in prose.	Quire 1? (fol. 4v); quires 2–4	Full-page miniature (Alexander Frontispiece) on fol. 4v; 2-column miniature with full border on folio 5r; 80 1-column miniatures on folios 5v–24v. Eighty-two miniatures in total	1. Talbot Illuminators: miniature and border on fol. 5r which contains a herald bearing the English arms; 68 single-col. miniatures. 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master: painted miniature and borders (including in the lateral margin a banner of Margaret's arms supported by a herald in a tabard of Shrewsbury arms and at the foot of the page the arms of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury) on folio 4v; also painted bifolium (fols. 22r–23v) containing 6 miniatures. 3. Master of Lord Hoo's *Book of Hours:* bifolium (fols. 21r and v and 24r and v) containing 12 miniatures.	Quire 4 has 4 folios (fols. 21r–24v), all decorated by different artists from those who did the rest of the miniatures in the Alexander. Might quire 4 be written by a different scribe? No catchword at the end of quires 1 or 4.

continued

TEXT AND FOLIO	QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)*	NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES	ARTISTS	CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/ QUESTIONS
4. fol. 25r *Le liure du roy Charlemaine:* three *chansons de geste* called here the first, second, and fourth books of Charlemagne, viz.:-(a) fol. 25r *Simon de Pouille,* a poem in about 5,300 Alexandrines (b) fol. 43r *Aspremont,* a poem in about 7,350 ten-syllable lines (c) fol. 70r *Fierabras,* a poem in about 4,800 Alexandrines.	(a) quires 5–7 (b) quires 8–11 (c) quires 12–13	2-col. miniatures with full borders on folios 25r, 43r, and 70r. Three miniatures total	1. Talbot Illuminators miniatures and borders 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master (added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folios 25r, 43r, and 70r).	Quire 7 has 2 folios (fols. 41r–42v) and no catchword at the end. Quire 11 has 3 folios (fols. 67r–69v) and no catchword at the end. Quire 13 has no catchword at the end.
5. fol. 86r *Le liure de Oger de Dannemarche:* the *chanson de geste* of *Ogier le Danois,* in about 20,500 lines.	Quires 14–23	1-col. miniature on fol. 86r	Talbot Illuminators	Heralds were planned for the margin of fol. 86r, but not executed. Quire 15 has 6 folios (fols. 94r–99v). Quire 18 has 4 folios (fols. 116r–119v). Quires 19–23 have no catchwords (Might a different scribe have written them?) Quire 23 has 3 folios (fols. 152r–154v), and the 2nd is inserted and written by a different scribe.
6. fol. 155r *Le liure de Regn[ault] de Montaubain:* the prose romance *Quatre fils Aimon.*	Quires 24–30	2-col. miniature with full border on folio 155r and eight 1-col. miniatures. Nine miniatures total	1. Talbot Illuminators: miniatures and border on folio 155r; 8 single-col. miniatures 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 155r.	Quire 24 has 6 folios (fols. 155r–160v). Quire 29 has 12 folios (fols. 193r–204v) with 2 nested bifolios by a different scribe after fol. 199. Quire 30 has 2 folios (fols. 205r–206v). No catchwords at end of quires 29 and 30. The folio (203v) ending the nested bifolios in quire 29 has a catchword that does not match what follows.

7. fol. 207r *Ung noble liure du roy Pontus filz du roy Thibor:* the prose romance *Pontus et Sidoine.*	Quires 31–33	2-col. miniature with full border on fol. 207r and 35 1-col. miniatures. Thirty-six miniatures total	1. Talbot Illuminators miniature and border on folio 207r; 35 single-col. miniatures 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master (?) added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 207r.	Quire 33 has 4 folios (223r–226v) and no catchword.
8. fol. 227r *Le liure de Guy de Warrewik:* two prose romances viz.:-(a) fol. 227r *Guy de Warwick* and its sequel (b) fol. 266v *Heraud d'Ardennes.*	Quires 34–39	2-col. miniature with full border on folios 227r. 1-col. miniature with partial border on folio 266v. Two miniatures total	1. Talbot Illuminators fol. 227r 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 227r. 3. Unidentified Master fol. 266v (also painted fol. 293r).	Quire 39 has 6 folios (267r–272v); fol. 272v is ruled and blank. No catchwords for quires 38–39.
9. fol. 273r "Cy commence lystoire du cheualier au Signe" [sic Cygne]: a chanson in about 5,600 Alexandrines, containing in an abridged form three branches of this long romance, viz. those which Paulin Paris, in *Hist. Litt. de la France,* xxii, pp. 350–402, entitles Hélias, *Les Enfances de Godefroi de Bouillon,* and *Jérusalem.*	Quires 40–42	2-col. miniature with full border	Talbot Illuminators	Heralds planned for the borders of fol. 273r, but not executed. Quires 41and 42 each have 6 folios (fols. 281r–286v, 287r–292v). Signature "biij" visible on fol. 283r, and signatures "ci–ciij" visible on folios 287r–289r. Might a scribal change account for the different system? There is no catchword at the end of quire 42.
10. fol. 293r *Le liure de larbre de batailes:* the treatise on warfare by 'Honnore Lone' [*sic,* for Honorat Bouvet], Prior of Salon in Provence.	Quires 43–47	1-col. miniature	Unidentified Master fol. 293r (also painted fol. 266v).	Above catchword ending quire 45 written in red by the same hand is "G.Nay+." Might this be the signature of the scribe or corrector? Quire 47 has 2 folios (fols. 325r–326v) and no catchword; from the 2nd col. of 325v through 326v the page is blank and ruled.

continued

TEXT AND FOLIO	QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)*	NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES	ARTISTS	CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/ QUESTIONS
11. fol. 327r *Le liure de politique:* the three books of Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum,* translated by Henri de Gauchi.	Quires 48–52	1-col. miniature	Talbot Illuminators	Heralds planned for the borders of fol. 327r, but not executed. Quires 49 and 50 have no catchwords. Quire 52 has 4 folios (359r–362v); the text ends on fol. 361; fols. 361v–362v are blank and ruled; there is no catchword.
12. fol. 363r *Le cronicles de Normandie:* a prose chronicle from the mythical Aubert to 1217.	Quires 53–57	2-col. miniature with full border	Talbot Illuminators	It is less clear, but possible, that Heralds planned for the border of fol. 363r but it was not executed. Quires 54 and 57 have no catchwords. The text ends in quire 57 on fol. 401r; fols. 401v–402v are blank and ruled.
13. fol. 403r *Le breviaire des nobles* by Alain Chartier.	Quire 58	2-col. miniature with full border	Talbot Illuminators	Quire 58 has 2 folios no catchword.
14. fol. 405r *Le liure des fais darmes et de cheualerie* by Christine de Pizan.	Quires 59–64	2-col. miniature with full border	Talbot Illuminators	Quire 61 has 2 folios (fols. 421r–22v) with a catchword; quire 62 has 1 folio (?), no catchword; quire 63 has signatures b_{i}–b_{iv} on fols. 424r–427r; quire 64 has signatures c_{i}–c_{iij} on folios 432r–434r; quire 65 has 7? folios and no catchword, and fol. 438v is blank and ruled.
15. fol. 439r *Le ordre de la jarretier:* Statutes of the Order of the Garter, in French.	Quire 65	2-col. miniature with full border	1. Talbot Illuminators 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury in borders of folio 439r.	Quire 65 has 2 folios and no catchword.

*This collation corrects that given by Catherine Reynolds in "The Shrewsbury Book." Reynolds omits a quire of 2 folios before her quire 30, a quire of 8 folios before her quire 45 and a single folio before her quire 60. For another codicological description of the manuscript, see Gilette Labory, "Les manuscripts de la Grande chronique de Normandie du XIV^{e} et du XV^{e} siècle," *Revue d'histoire des texts* 29 (1999), pp. 264–72.

APPENDIX 2

Hierarchy of Decoration

TEXT AND FOLIO	FULL-PAGE MINIATURES	TWO-COLUMN MINIATURES	SINGLE-COLUMN MINIATURES
1. fol. 2v Dedicatory verses, thirty-four couplets.		fol. 2v	
2. fol. 3r Genealogical table of descendants of St. Louis, in the form of a fleur-de-lis.	fol. 3r		
3. fol. 4v *Le liure de la conqueste du roy Alixandre* in prose.	fol. 4v	fol. 5r	80 on fols. 5v–24v
4. fol. 25r. *Le liure du roy Charlemaine:* three *chansons de geste* called here the first, second, and fourth books of Charlemagne, viz.:-(a) fol. 25 *Simon de Pouille,* a poem in about 5,300 Alexandrines (b) fol. 43 *Aspremont,* a Poem in about 7,350 ten-syllable lines (c) fol. 70 *Fierabras,* a poem in about 4,800 Alexandrines.		fols. 25r, 43r, and 70r	
5. fol. 86r *Le liure de Oger de Dannemarche:* the *chanson de geste* of *Ogier le Danois,* in about 20,500 lines.			fol. 86r
6. fol. 155r *Le liure de Regn[ault] de Montaubain:* the prose romance *Quatre fils Aimon.*		fol. 155r	8 on fols. 158v–187r
7. fol. 207r *Ung noble liure du roy Pontus. filz du roy Thibor:* the prose romance *Pontus et Sidoine.*		fol. 207r	35 on fols. 207v–225v
8. fol. 227r *Le liure de Guy de Warrewik:* two prose romances viz.:-(a) fol. 227 *Guy de Warwick* and its sequel (b) fol. 266v *Heraud d'Ardennes.*		fol. 227r	fol. 266v
9. fol. 273r *Cy commence lystoire du cheualier au Signe* [sic *Cygne*]: a *chanson* in about 5,600 Alexandrines, containing in an abridged form three branches of this long romance, viz. those which Paulin Paris, in *Hist. Litt. de la France,* xxii, pp. 350–402, entitled *Hélias, Les Enfances de Godefroi de Bouillon,* and *Jérusalem.*		fol. 273r	
10. fol. 293r *Le liure de larbre de batailes:* the treatise on warfare by 'Honnore Lone" [*sic,* for Honorat Bouvet], Prior of Salon in Provence.			fol. 293r
11. fol. 327r *Le liure de politique:* the three books of Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum,* translated by Henri de Gauchi.			fol. 327r
12. fol. 363r "Le cronicles de Normandie:" a prose chronicle from the mythical Aubert to 1217.		fol. 363r	
13. fol. 403r "Le breviaire des nobles" by Alain Chartier.		fol. 403r	
14. fol. 405r "Le liure des fais darmes et de cheualerie" by Christine de Pizan.		fol. 405r	
15. fol. 439r "Le ordre du jaretier:" Statutes of the Order of the Garter, in French.		fol. 439r	

CHAPTER 7

The Time of an Anthology

BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi and the Commemoration of Chivalric Culture

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In 1445 Henry VI of England, then aged twenty-three, was betrothed to Margaret of Anjou, then fifteen. She was the daughter of René, Duke of Anjou, Bar, and Lorraine, and nominally king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was a king without a kingdom or much revenue, but through him Margaret could trace her descent back to John the Good, king of France, her great-great-grandfather. Margaret's prospective husband Henry was always a nervous man and eventually went mad. By the time of his marriage his political judgment and martial valor had both been publicly questioned, and rumors had probably already begun to circulate that he was not "steadfast of wit."[1]

The duty of escorting the young princess to England fell to John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, who for nearly ten years had been Marshal of the English forces in France and one of its most successful commanders. During February and March of 1445, Talbot and his wife accompanied Margaret from Nancy to Rouen, landing at Southampton in April. Margaret and Henry were married at Titchfield Abbey, ten miles away, on April 22, and five weeks later Margaret was crowned queen.

As a wedding gift, Talbot commissioned a massive chivalric anthology, 440

1. A London draper was indicted on 11 January 1447 for making this suggestion the previous October. See PRO K. B. 9/260/85, for the indictment, cited in Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (1981; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 17. The first to be accused of criticizing the king for mere incompetence was Thomas Kerver, the bailiff of the abbot of Reading, who was brought to trial in the spring of 1444 and subsequently imprisoned after a partial pardon. See C. A. F. Meekings, "Thomas Kerver's Case, 1444," *English Historical Review* 90 (1975), pp. 331–46.

folios, beginning with a genealogical table setting out Henry's claim to the French throne, and then moving though the prose *Roman d'Alexandre,* five *chansons de geste,* five romances, including a prose version of *Guy de Warrewik,* the *Chevalier au cygne,* a chronicle of Normandy, political and military treatises—*Larbre de batailes* of Honoré Bouvet, a French translation of the *De regimine principum* of Aegidius Romanus, and Christine de Pizan's *Fais d'armes*—and finally the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. The contents and make-up of the book are described more fully in this collection by Anne D. Hedeman (chapter 6), Craig Taylor (chapter 8), and Karen Fresco (chapter 9).

The manuscript begins with some verses explaining that this collection is being offered to fill the queen's leisure hours and to ensure that she does not forget her French once she begins to speak English (see figure 3):

> Princesse tres excellente
> Ce liure cy vous presente
> De Schrosbery le conte.
> Ou quel liure a maint beau conte
> Des preux qui par grant labeur
> Vouldrent acquerir honneur
> En France, en Angleterre,
> Et en aultre mainte terre.
> Esperant qu'a vostre loisir
> Vous vueillez prendre plaisir
> En passant temps pour y lire
> Pour oster ennui qui nuire
> Peult a toute creature.
> . . . .
> Il [Talbot] a fait faire ainsi que entens
> Afin que vous y passez temps
> Et lors que parlerez anglois
> Que vous n'oubliez pas le françois.
> Et que vous voyez les hystoires
> Qui bien sont dignes de memoire
> Pour les tres haustes entreprinses
> Qui ou dit liure sont comprinse.
>
> [Most excellent princess, this book is here presented to you by the Earl of Shrewsbury. In it are many fine stories about knights who, through great effort, wished to acquire honor in France, England, and elsewhere. Hoping that at your leisure you will take pleasure in spending time reading it to drive away boredom which can harm anyone . . . Talbot had this book made so

that you could pass your time with it and so that, when you speak English, you will not forget French, and so that you [will] see the stories which are worthy of remembrance because of the most noble deeds which are contained within this said book.]

The genealogical chart on the following page, however, has a more aggressive political motive, to set forth Henry's claim to the throne of France (see figure 3). Here, in a table that echoes the one that the Duke of Bedford had arranged to be displayed publicly in Paris, one can see the English and French royal bloodlines culminating in the figure of the young king.[2] The opening poem alludes to this dimension of the book as well:

Ou liure a une figure
Geneaulogie nommee
Par la quelle est tres bien prouvee
Verite demonstrant a plain
Que le roy nostre souverain,
Le vostre affye que dieux y gart,
Est venu de si noble part
Comme du bon Roy saint louys.
Si estes vous, certain en suys.

[In this book is a figure, called a genealogical table, by which it is shown and demonstrated in full truth that the king, our sovereign, your fiancé (May God protect him!) is descended from the most noble ancestor, the good king Saint Louis, as are you, I am sure.]

Although court ladies were expected to take an informed interest in the efforts of the men to win honor, this militaristic collection might seem an odd choice as a wedding present for a queen.[3] Furthermore, the manuscript shows clear signs of having been prepared in haste. As Catherine Reynolds notes, several open spaces were originally left for large banners, but then filled in with innocuous decorative work.[4] She also points to "obvious insertions of

2. B[enedicta] J. H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem," *The Library,* 4th Series 13 (1932), pp. 77–88.

3. See further the discussion by Karen Fresco (chapter 9, pp. 165–66 and p. 165n47) and Craig Taylor (chapter 8, pp. 143–44) in this collection.

4. Fol. 86r for *Ogier,* fol. 273r for the *Chevalier au cygne,* fol. 266r, and fol. 363r for the *Chroniques de Normandie.* The outlines of the planned banners are still visible in places. See Catherine Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book, British Library, Royal MS 15 E. VI," in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen,* ed. Jenny Stratford (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993), pp. 109–16, and further comments in Anne D. Hedeman's contribution to this volume (chapter 6, pp. 103–4).

omitted text in *Ogier,* f. 153, and the *Quatre fils,* ff. 200–203."[5] It is possible, then, that the book was originally intended for Talbot himself and hastily reconfigured.

This anthology seems to offer an unusually strong opportunity for tracing a medieval nonclerical reader's use of a book for leisure reading, and such opportunities are rare. But the question of the intended readership is from the very beginning complicated because it is not entirely clear whether this collection should be considered Talbot's book, or Margaret's, or that of her future son. In fact, there are at least four potential readers, or groups of readers. There is Talbot himself, for whom the proto-Shrewsbury Book could have served either as a personal guide to warfare and chivalry (which would be to credit him with a strongly intellectual approach to the subject) or as a more public declaration of his chivalric accomplishments and aspirations. In this context, the presence of the *Guy de Warrewik* is especially noteworthy. Talbot, as his will makes clear, had a strong interest in the earldom of Warwick—he had, after all married the earl's eldest daughter.[6] Talbot must have been profoundly impressed by the magnificent chivalric reputation of his father-in-law, Richard Beauchamp, 13th Earl of Warwick, of whom it was said that were all chivalry lost it could be found in him alone.[7] Then there is Margaret of Anjou. Margaret might initially have had some of the responsibility of nurturing her son's chivalric aspirations, and used the book for this purpose, but ultimately, as her husband declined into insanity, she had as much need as Talbot of the book's military and ceremonial lore as she cobbled together alliances and led armies to defend her son's rights. Whereas Talbot often commanded no more than one or two thousand men on his chevauchées through France, Margaret was to become effectively the supreme commander of the full Lancastrian army. The Shrewsbury Book can scarcely have been intended to serve as her military manual, but she might have used it in this way nonetheless. Thirdly, there is the young Prince of Wales, Edward of Westminster, who was known for his military enthusiasm and who died at the battle of Tewkesbury at the age of seventeen. In 1467, the Milanese ambassador in France reported that the exiled prince, then aged fourteen, "already talks of nothing but cutting off heads or

5. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," p. 110. These insertions might, however, be seen instead as a reflection of concern for textual accuracy. Such concern for the accuracy of the text of a *chanson de geste* would have been unusual but not entirely unprecedented. See further the comments by Keith Busby in note 11 of this chapter on texts of the *Chanson d'Aspremont.*

6. John Frankis, "Taste and Patronage in Late Medieval England as Reflected in Versions of *Guy of Warwick,*" *Medium Aevum* 66 (1997), pp. 80–93.

7. See Yin Liu, "Richard Beauchamp and the Uses of Romance," *Medium Aevum* 74 (2005), pp. 271–87, and the remarks of Craig Taylor in this collection (chapter 8, pp. 148–50). The *Chevalier au cygne* might also reflect Talbot's interest in his wife's lineage, for the Beauchamps, as their crest indicated, claimed to be descended from the legendary Swan Knight.

making war, as if he had everything in his hands or was the god of battle or the peaceful occupant of that [English] throne," while chief justice Sir John Fortescue, an advocate of more sober pursuits, complained that "as soon as he became grown up, [the prince] gave himself over entirely to martial exercises; and, seated on fierce and half-tamed steeds urged on by his spurs, he often delighted in attacking and assaulting the young companions attending him."[8] If this behavior was in part the result of reading too enthusiastically from the Shrewsbury Book, then the prince was reading as Talbot intended. Surely, part of Talbot's purpose in presenting the collection was to ensure the young Edward grew up with the taste for martial exploits that his father utterly lacked. Finally, there is a shifting group of English courtiers whose personal rivalries revolved around the question of whether to pursue war or peace with France, courtiers who might have had the opportunity to leaf through the elegant pages or hear sections read aloud, and then to debate the book's politically charged symbolism, recognizing that it promoted the cause of the war party.

One final set of readers is worth mentioning, if only to rule them out. André de Mandach, the scholar who provided the most extensive (although not always the most reliable) account of the dissemination of the *Chanson d'Aspremont,* believed that the exemplar for the Shrewsbury *Aspremont,* and possibly other texts in the Shrewsbury Book as well, was prepared by the Benedictine monks of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[9] If this were the case, we would have a fifth set of readers, monks, whose careful editing—and "editing" is the word de Mandach uses—of the *Aspremont* from several manuscripts in their collection would testify to an extraordinary respect for secular vernacular literature. De Mandach's conclusion has been repeated on several occasions, although not with the tone of stupefaction it deserves.[10] The claim that a fifteenth-century English Benedictine priory should be engaged in large scale copying of *chansons de geste* requires some comment. But as Keith Busby has noted, de Mandach's argument, at least in respect to the texts in the Shrewsbury Book, is probably wrong.[11] That still leaves three individuals, a marshal, a queen, and her son,

8. *Calendar of State Papers, Milan, 1385–1618,* 1.117, and John Fortescue, *De laudibus legum Anglie,* ed. and trans. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1942), pp. 2–3, both quoted in R. A. Griffiths, "Edward [Edward of Westminster], Prince of Wales (1453–1471)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* on-line (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

9. André de Mandach, "A Royal Wedding Present in the Making: Talbot's Chivalric Anthology (Royal 15 E VI) for Queen Margaret of Anjou and the 'Laval-Middleton' Anthology of Nottingham," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1974), pp. 56–76.

10. See, for an influential example, Miri Rubin's comment in *The Hollow Crown: A History of Britain in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), p. 231.

11. See Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 1: 119–26. De Mandach himself is forced to acknowledge that the version of the *Chanson d'Aspremont* in the Shrewsbury Book does not perfectly match any of the manuscripts

and one general group of readers, the courtiers, all of whom could have had the opportunity to read deeply in the royal manuscript (or possibly, in the case of Talbot, in some immediate ancestor). Here, it might seem, is a chance to catch the medieval reader in the act.

In a famous passage in *The Practice of Everyday Life,* Michel de Certeau evokes the role of readers as travelers who "move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves."[12] The passage has often been cited by historians of reading or book history. It stands, for example, as the opening epigraph to both Roger Chartier's *The Order of Books,* and to the collection of essays on the history of reading edited by Chartier and Guglielmo Cavallo, where it defines the basic parameters of their project, establishing "a fundamental distinction between the written trace, of whatever kind, which is fixed and durable, and preserves things, and its readers, who belong to the order of the ephemeral, and of plurality and invention."[13] In general, traces of actual readings call us back from the text's idealized vision of its own reception to a more exigent and arbitrary human condition; the reader's personal time with the book can be seen as a reflection of quotidian disruption, or as an assertion of quirky individuality, or as an act of resistance.

For Chartier, what the nomadic poachers are resisting is the force of an industry, the large-scale mechanical production and widespread marketing of the printed book. Reading, as he puts it, "is not simply submission to textual machinery," and while he uses the term "machinery" in the first instance to refer to the rhetorical strategies of the text as it seeks to interpolate and manipulate the reader, the metaphor Chartier chooses suggests how closely for him these strategies are connected to the business of mechanical printing.[14] The specter

associated with St. Augustine. It might seem, therefore, that his entire theory is hopelessly far-fetched, resting as it does on the possibility of the monks drawing variants from at least three manuscripts. As Busby notes, "de Mandach's theory imposes a neatness that the manuscript evidence does not really support" (121). Busby points out, however, that one of the St. Augustine copies of the *Chanson d'Aspremont,* now Cologny, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Ms. Bodmer 11 (formerly Phillipps 26119), which once belonged to brother Anthony de Hautrieve, prior in 1299, does indeed show signs of such editing, demonstrating "an attitude towards the text which . . . contrasts sharply with the received modern view of medieval variance" (121). This important evidence of textual attention to *chansons de geste* in the late thirteenth century, possibly even in monastic scriptoria, (evidence which is all the more fascinating since Bodmer Ms. 11 bears what appears to be the *ex libris* of Edward I) does not, however, provide any grounds whatsoever for attributing such attention to the monks two centuries later.

12. Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Timothy J. Tomasik (1980; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 174.

13. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries,* trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 2; Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* (Rome and Bari: Giuuseppe Laterza, 1995; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), p. 7.

14. Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printings, Readings," in *The New Cultural History,* ed. Lyn Hunt

of a world in which "the machines decide" makes individual acts of resistance of historical interest.[15]

The situation of medieval courtiers, who would normally personally commission those books that they did not acquire second-hand, is obviously very different from that of early modern readers, but in each case people forged their identities both by following the paths the books laid out and by deviating from them. Deviation was often necessary. The medieval knight or lady was subject to codes of devotion, love, and warfare so extravagant that the question of whether anyone really took them seriously (and how those who did so dealt with the conflicts between the codes and their own inevitable lapses from them) has been the subject of long debate. When Talbot charged the massed cannons of the French at Castillon, for example, was he impelled by personal recklessness or trapped by a chivalric code that made overt retreat impossible?[16] Were late medieval aristocrats expected, if not actually to die from love, then at least to make a convincing pretence that they might?[17]

How far these codes were observed, finessed, or resisted, is, therefore, one crucial question about late medieval court culture; how far these codes were instilled through reading is another. Much of the ritualized self-presentation of court culture, even as late as the fifteenth century, was accomplished by clothing and heraldry, or processions, gestures, and dances, that is, by forms of display that were governed by general social mores and not necessarily written down.[18] The rules of warfare were traditionally passed down orally from older knights or by heralds and minstrels.[19] Yet the rules for full confession and a life of penance, or for seduction, or for correct behavior on the battlefield were also set forth in treatises. Listening to readings from improving books, notably saints' lives, devotional texts, and chronicles, was a well-established court ritual.[20] Writing

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154–75 at 156.

15. I borrow the phrase from David R. Carlson's analysis of the printing of legal texts in fifteenth-century Venice in "Nicholas Jenson and the Form of the Renaissance Printed Page," in *The Future of the Page,* ed. Peter Stoicheff and Andrew Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 91–110 at 108.

16. A[nthony] J. Pollard suggests in *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427–1453* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), p. 129, that Talbot "unfurled his banner and opened the battle before he discovered that he was launching his men against an impregnable position. To have retreated then would have brought lasting dishonour."

17. See, for just one example, Richard Firth Green's discussion of the notion that a man should be capable of dying from love as a "social fiction" imposed upon late medieval nobleman, in *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 114.

18. Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years' War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

19. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 80–81 and 139.

20. Joyce Coleman discusses the reading of chronicles during dinner at the Burgundian court in *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge

could even serve as a means of self-exploration, as it does in the confessional account of his life written by Henry of Lancaster.[21] To echo Juliet's comments to Romeo, medieval courtiers appear to have kissed—and confessed and fought—by the book. Yet just how they learnt to do so often remains elusive. It is actually at the lower social levels, among the moderately prosperous who could afford only a limited number of books and were more likely to make sure each one reflected their personal interests, that we have the fullest evidence for the ways books could function to model behavior. The thirteenth-century Benedictine William of Winchester who read the lais and fables of Marie de France in BL Ms. Harley 978, and the thirteenth-century Berkshire lawyer who read the Anglo-Norman *Horn,* Grosseteste's spiritual treatise the *Chasteau d'amour,* and a variety of legal texts in Oxford, Bodleian Library Mss. Douce 130 and 132 are two examples about which we have considerable information.[22] In the diversity of such bespoke collections, a medieval reader might chart a wider range of interests and a more complex identity than that society had assigned him; he might become a poacher. So we might turn to specific manuscripts to determine whether the courtiers actually read their sumptuous books, how far they believed what they said, how far they were governed by the books as opposed to being governed by social conventions and oral tradition, how far they used their books to escape social restrictions, and how far they tried to incorporate passages from them into the pageants of their lives.

Extending the history of this nomadic poaching back to the Middle Ages, however, is a difficult matter. What Malcolm Parkes has called professional readers, clerics and the like, were encouraged, sometimes even paid, to mark their books, and from these markings it is possible to trace their responses.[23]

University Press, 1996).

21. See É[mile] J[ules François] Arnould, ed., *Le Livre de seyntz medecines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster,* Anglo Norman Texts 2 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1940) and his *Étude sur le Livre des Saintes médecines du Duc Henri de Lancastre* (Paris: M. Didier, 1948); Kenneth Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361* (London: Elek, 1969); and Andrew Taylor, "Reading the Body in the *Le Livre de Seyntz Medecines,*" in *The Body in Medieval Art, History, and Literature; Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association, 1994,* ed. Allen J. Frantzen and David A. Robertson, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 11 (Chicago: Loyola University of Chicago, 1995), pp. 103–18.

22. On William of Winchester's reading, see Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), esp. pp. 110–26; on that of the Berkshire lawyer, see Pamela R. Robinson, "'The Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Codicologica* 3 (1980), pp. 46–60. The identification of the owner of the Douce manuscripts as a Berkshire lawyer is based entirely upon their contents. William of Winchester, on the other hand, left significant traces of his character in other areas, in particular in his long legal battle with his bishop.

23. Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in *The Mediaeval World,* ed. David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, Literature and Western Civilization 2 (London: Aldus, 1973), pp. 555–77 at 555; cf. the narrower use of the term in Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Maidie Hilmo, *The Medieval Professional*

So we can follow John de Grandisson, who rose to become bishop of Exeter in 1327, as he struggles with his conscience and explores the nature of the human will, especially his own, through the pages of his personal copy of the *Confessions,* now in Lambeth Palace, a book he marked extensively.[24] Grandisson was proud of his work as a corrector and annotator, noting his role in his opening inscription: "Damus ecclesie nostre Exon. [hunc librum]; quia [*sic*] multum laborauimus in corigendo parisius. Manu. J. Ex" (We give to our church of Exeter [this book], which we labored much in correcting in Paris, in the hand of John of Exeter."[25]) But he was also humble enough to note passages he could not understand and disingenuous enough to reveal (or at the very least suggest) much about his personality, from his taste for church music, to graver matters, such as his long-standing ambition to become a bishop or perhaps even his susceptibility to the image of Dido. Here, as Grandisson's conscientious work as a scholarly annotator begins to shade into a record of his private life, one can smell the flesh that lures Marc Bloch's historian.[26]

Few medieval readers allow us to approach so near. Even when an impressive collection has been assembled and carefully presented so as to encourage a reader in a specific direction, it is hard to know how it was actually used. A telling instance is BnF Ms. fr. 24429, a collection of historical, moral, devotional, and (in its original state) hagiographic texts assembled at the very end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth century for a French queen. As Sylvia Huot notes, the manuscript offers "eloquent and sumptuous testimony to medieval reading practices, reflecting the extent to which both the expected use of the texts and the personality of a noble patron could affect the material presentation of vernacular literature."[27] Yet, as Huot concedes, the "personalization of the manuscript is not absolute."[28] Indeed, it has not yet been determined which of four possible French queens (Jeanne, wife of Philip IV and the widowed queens of France, Navarre, and Castille) was the owner. The reader remains "the queen," and, as one might expect, when even the patron's identity

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Reader at Work: Evidence from Manuscripts of Chaucer, Langland, Kempe, and Gower, English Literary Studies 85 (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, 2001), where it refers to the often very extensive traces left by those "whose job it is to prepare a text for the reading public" (8).

24. Linda Olson, "Reading Augustine's *Confessiones* in Fourteenth-Century England: John de Grandisson's Fashioning of Text and Self," *Traditio* 52 (1997), pp. 201–57, on London, Lambeth Palace Ms. 203.

25. London, Lambeth Ms. 203, fol. 7r, transcribed and translated by Olson, pp. 241 and 201.

26. "The good historian is like the giant [l'ogre] of the fairy tale. He knows that wherever he catches the scent of human flesh, there his quarry lies." Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* trans. Peter Putnam (1949; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1954), p. 26.

27. Sylvia Huot, "A Book Made for a Queen: The Shaping of a Late Medieval Anthology Manuscript (B.N. fr. 24429)," in *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany,* ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), p. 139.

28. Huot, "A Book Made for a Queen," p. 138.

hovers in suspension, it is not possible to say much about how the book was actually used.

This is not to diminish the numerous benefits of codicological analysis, but to recognize a major limitation on what such analysis is likely to reveal. Stephen Nichols, for example, finds in medieval vernacular collections, specifically thirteenth-century *chansonniers* such as New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 819, "principles of order that convey reading programs to correlate the *dissimilar* individual texts."[29] Nichols refers to this order as "the manuscript's performative thrust," but it is important to recognize that this performance is not necessarily realized by anyone.[30] Rather, Nichols extrapolates from the Morgan *chansonnier* an aesthetic order, which, following the principles of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova,* artfully disrupts more obvious or "natural" patterns such as chronology.

The time of the Shrewsbury Book can be taken, accordingly, to refer to two very different orders, that of the book as a human tool and that of the book as a work of art. In the first case, the time of the book could be understood as a number of specific moments, when it was commissioned, presented, and read, always in contact with specific people; in the second it could be understood as a pattern for passing time that was implicit in the arrangement of texts and the visual presentation of the book but not necessarily realized. As far as the first is concerned, the Shrewsbury Book offers more questions than answers. Just when did Talbot commission the copying? How hurried were the scribes? Was the book presented to Margaret at her marriage or her coronation? When the book passed into the hands of Margaret and, perhaps, in due course into those of Prince Edward, how often was it taken from the chest or press? Did they read it breathlessly, until their judgment was wrapped up in dreams of chivalric glory, or (possibly under Talbot's own guidance) did they read it judiciously, pausing to consider its implications and weigh its advice so that they might do their best to follow its wisdom in the travails of war? In short, did the owners actually read the book?

Apart from his warlike tendencies (and he could have acquired these easily enough without a special reading program), young Edward left too few indications of his personality to offer much hope of bringing his short biography into conjunction with his reading. Margaret of Anjou, however, might at first seem more promising. The culminating item in the Shrewsbury collection, for example, is the Statutes of the Garter, an order in which Margaret latterly had a strong political interest. Diana Dunn has noted that those presented for election to the Order of the Garter in 1453, by which point Henry had frequently

29. Stephen G. Nichols, "'Art' and 'Nature': Looking for (Medieval) Principles of Order in Occitan *Chansonnier* N (Morgan 819)," in *The Whole Book,* pp. 83–122 at 83, emphasis in the original.

30. Nichols, "'Art and 'Nature,'" p. 120.

ceded the government to his wife, included a large number of courtiers who were part of the Queen's faction.[31] Dunn speculated that Margaret might have "manipulated Garter elections" in the interests of the Lancastrian cause but ultimately concluded that "exactly what the Order of the Garter meant to Margaret of Anjou, or whether she ever actually read the statutes included at the end of the Shrewsbury Book cannot be known for certain" (55).

Forty years earlier, the popular historian Philippe Erlanger made an even more intriguing observation. In his account of the battle of Wakefield Bridge in 1460, he noted that "Margaret herself superintended the placing of her troops and the order of battle. Perhaps she had read her Livy, for her tactics on that occasion have all the appearances of being inspired by Hannibal's at Cannae. As the centre of Red Rose army deliberately gave way before the Yorkist charge, the Lancastrian horse, concealed behind a rise of land, turned the enemy's flank and took him in the rear."[32] But Margaret could equally have found an account in the *Fais d'armes,* where Christine writes that in the Battle of Cannae, Hannibal defeated the Romans by his cunning tricks, and in particular, that he "ordonna que la bataille commencee, une partie de sa gent feissent comme s'ils s'en fuyssent par ung destour ou avoit une embuche" [he ordered that when the battle had begun, part of his troops should act as if they were fleeing along a narrow path where there was an ambush.][33] Margaret had good reason to read Christine, and if she did, what more convenient place than in the Shrewsbury Book.[34] Unfortunately, more careful historians have determined that Margaret was not actually present at the battle of Wakefield Bridge; she was still in Scotland. If anyone is to be given credit for following the example of Hannibal it is probably her chief captain, Andrew Trollope.[35] This is not to say that Margaret did not read the book, only that so far there seems no way of determining that she did so.

The evidence for Talbot's personal involvement with the manuscript is

31. Diana Dunn, "Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Order of the Garter," in *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. Colin Richmond and Eileen Scarff, Historical Monographs Relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 17 (Windsor: Dean and Canons of Westminster, 2001), pp. 39–56.

32. Philippe Erlanger, *Margaret of Anjou: Queen of England,* trans. Edward Hyams (London: Elek, 1970), p. 175. Patricia-Ann Lee traces the various depictions of Margaret as a warrior queen both in her own day and on the part of Tudor historians in "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986), pp. 183–217.

33. Fol. 465r; Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* ed. Charity Cannon Willard, trans. Sumner Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), p. 103.

34. As Sumner Willard, a retired colonel and former professor at West Point has observed, Christine de Pizan's manual is actually very useful for anyone who has to command troops, which is why it was still part of the curriculum in military academies in France into the nineteenth century.

35. Keith Dockray, "The Battle of Wakefield and the Wars of the Roses," *The Ricardian* 9.117 (1992), pp. 238–58 at 242.

much more extensive, but it is complicated by the disingenuous claim that the book is intended primarily to drive away the queen's boredom and consists chiefly of good stories ("maint beau conte") of how knights have won honor, as if the military treatises were not there at all. Some certainly have wondered at the choice of material. Reynolds goes so far as to suggest that Talbot chose the book as a wedding present because all the goldsmiths in Rouen were already overtaxed.[36] But a consensus now seems to be forming that, at least from Talbot's perspective, the Shrewsbury Book was an excellent choice as a wedding gift: a well calculated statement of Talbot's personal ambition and his hopes for England, a commemoration of his own chivalric career, a program of instruction for the future heir, and an implicit bid for the position of tutor, all in the form of a single volume that was delivered at a crucial historical event (whether marriage or coronation).[37] Compiled, copied, and illustrated hastily, the final volume is still a coherent work with a forceful message, "no king of England if not king of France." This view of the collection does not, however, deny that Talbot's scribes probably drew upon works that were already in Talbot's possession; the coherence and sophistication of the collection, notably the unusual combination of *chansons de geste* and military treatises described by Craig Taylor (chapter 8, pp. 135–38), is a tribute to Talbot's personal library, and provides a new perspective on his career, both as a field commander and as a master of chivalric self-presentation. Talbot may never actually have read the Shrewsbury Book itself, but the volume still tells us much about him and his approach to books.

Turning to the time of anthology in a second, and more indirect, sense, two comments made by Michel-André Bossy provide a possible point of departure. The first is that the Shrewsbury Book stresses Margaret's role as the potential mother of a future heir, and thus on the genealogical page Margaret is "translated into emblems," including a "bouquet of marguerites" that is suggestively penetrated by her future husband.[38] The second is that the opening section, the *Roman d'Alexandre,* with its "exotic adventures and their numerous illustrations," would have made it "particularly appealing to a child."[39] The *Roman d'Alexandre* pays tribute to a youthful hero, one distinguished by his modera-

36. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," p. 111.

37. As Karen Fresco argues in this collection (chapter 9, p. 172), what Talbot was offering in the book was "in a sense himself."

38. Michel-André Bossy, "Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilynn Desmond, Medieval Cultures 14 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 236–56 at 245. As Anne D. Hedeman notes in this collection, the *Roman d'Alexandre* was usually heavily illustrated (see chapter 6, p. 105). It is the preliminary position it is given in this collection, rather than the presence of the illustrations in themselves, that is suggestive.

39. Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," p. 246.

tion, bravery, and trickery.[40] It is followed by the *chansons de geste,* of which the second, the *Chanson d'Aspremont,* describes how the youthful Roland, imprisoned for his own safety by Charlemagne, breaks free with his young companions, steals horses from passing knights, joins the Frankish army, and, defeating the Saracen champion Aumont, takes his sword, Durendal, and his great horn, the Oliphant. It is a prequel to the better-known story of the adult Roland's death at Roncevaux, one that tells how Roland grew from a wild and unproved adolescent to a renowned, if still reckless, champion. As the collection proceeds, it works its way to more sober texts for a more mature political understanding, but it never rejects or infantilizes the earlier material. Alexander, too, to state the obvious, was history's greatest conqueror, and the rich illustrations evoke the curiosities of the distant lands he subjected to his rule. There is visual spaciousness in these early sections, which adds to the sense of limitless opportunity.

There is temporal continuity in the collection as well. It commemorates the chivalric past by preserving texts first composed as much as three centuries earlier, but it also looks to a chivalric future by modernizing these texts into Middle French and concentrating on the deeds of young heroes to inspire a young prince. The book has an optimistic trajectory. It begins with what Northrop Frye would call the mythos of spring, innocent adventure in a world of simpler values, idealism, fecundity, and the confident self-assertion of the ruling class.[41] Then it grows older, but it never loses its confidence or idealism. It ends with sage counsel for a mature leader and with the regulations of an order that could be traced back to England's great feudal champion, Edward Longshanks, and beyond him to the chivalry of Arthur, Charlemagne, and the classical world. By leading firmly towards the more demanding works, the book offers a complete educational cycle, one that would take the heir into adulthood, at which point the royal tutor could retire, knowing he had fulfilled his duty. We might think of the time of the anthology, then, as some ten years of tutelage, tutelage that chivalric lore and English court practice tells us was ideally done at the hands of an experienced warrior. This evocation of continuity from generation to generation would be deeply reassuring, a denial of the harsher fortune. The book evokes a *translatio studii et imperii,* a world in which there will be both time and space, to read and learn, to read and teach. It holds at bay the grimmer reality of life in a kingdom governed by a man who was described by the Pope himself as "more timorous than a woman, utterly devoid of wit or spirit" and who actually went insane when he heard that Talbot has been slain at Castillon.[42]

40. See the comments by Karen Fresco in this collection, chapter 9, pp. 162–63.

41. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 158–60 and 163–86. Frye also associates some of these elements with romance, the mythos of summer.

42. *Commentaries of Pius II on the Memorable Events of His Time,* trans. Florence Alden Gragg and

The time of the anthology is, admittedly, evoked only indirectly. It remains nebulous, but it may emerge more sharply by contrast with other chivalric texts and artifacts or other readings of late medieval chivalric culture. There is no melancholy in the commemoration offered by this manuscript, none of that sense that one has come too late that Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet finds in late medieval bibliophilia, none of the morbidity Johan Huizinga found in late medieval aristocratic display.[43] In the Shrewsbury Book, great adventures do not belong to the past alone, nor have new methods of warfare rendered chivalry obsolete. The deeds of valiant men, the manuscript reassures us, will continue to inspire fair ladies and their sons. This is a book, in the modern style, that looks confidently towards the future.

ed. Leona C. Gabel, Smith College Studies in History (Northampton, MA: Dept. of History of Smith College, 1937–57; New York, 1959), 3: 268, cited in Wolffe, *Henry VI,* p. 20.

43. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *La couleur de la mélancolie: La fréquentation des livres au XIVe siècle, 1300–1415* (Paris: Hatier, 1993), finds in the writers of the fourteenth century a "sentiment envahissant . . . de venir en second, d'être seconds" (11), and partly attributes this pervasive melancholy to the disaster of Agincourt. She evokes Johan Huizinga's famous study, whose vision of organic decline is indicated by his title, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen,* variously translated as *The Waning of the Middle Ages* or *The Autumn of the Middle Ages.*

CHAPTER 8

The Treatise Cycle of the Shrewsbury Book, BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi

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The Shrewsbury Book is an extremely unusual and important example of French influence upon English chivalric culture during the late Middle Ages.[1] The manuscript is justifiably famous as one of the most remarkable compilations of *chansons de geste* and romances. Yet the anthology is also important because it demonstrated the interest of a leading English military commander in some of the most prominent contemporary French chivalric treatises and manuals, many of which were unknown in England at the time. John Talbot was making a striking statement by championing these French writings on chivalry and warfare at a moment when English military fortunes had plummeted to the lowest point of the entire Hundred Years' War. Like a number of his fellow soldiers from the doomed enterprise in France, Talbot was publicly turning to their enemy for inspiration as these captains sought to maintain the fragile hold on Normandy and Gascony. With the Shrewsbury Book, Talbot was demonstrating his investment in a Valois intellectual culture that had underpinned and justified a remarkable period of French military reform that had laid the foundations for the imminent recovery of the English holdings in France by King Charles VII.[2]

1. I have explored the wider context for this argument in Craig Taylor, "English Writings on Chivalry and Warfare During the Hundred Years War," in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 64–84; see also my forthcoming monograph, *Chivalry, Honour, and Martial Culture in Late Medieval France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). I am extremely grateful both to the editors of this volume and to my colleague Pragya Vohra for her assistance with the final preparations for publication of this paper.

2. For the military reforms that culminated in the Ordinance companies of 1445, together with their impact on the course of the Hundred Years' War, see Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à*

The first two-thirds of the Shrewsbury Book presented an anthology of literature that celebrated such chivalric paragons and worthies as Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, Godfrey de Bouillon, and Guy of Warwick. The final portion of the manuscript offered a more prosaic selection of writings on kingship, chivalry and warfare, that is to say Honoré Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* (fols. 293r–326v), an abridgement of Henri de Gauchi's *Li livres du gouvernement des roys et des princes* (fols. 327r–362v), a prose reworking of Wace's *Roman de Rou* called *Les Chroniques de Normandie* (fols. 363r–402v), Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles* (fols. 403r–404v), Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (fols. 405r–438v) and the Statutes of the Order of the Garter (fols. 439r–440v). Together, these treatises offered a wealth of advice on kingship and the political sphere, the art and laws of warfare, chivalry, and court culture.[3]

The mirrors for princes and manuals that formed the backbone of this treatise cycle had all been written within the previous century and a half for Capetian and Valois princes, and numbered amongst the most prominent and successful French texts on warfare, chivalry, and kingship.[4] The most well known was Henri de Gauchi's translation of *De regimine principum,* originally written in 1281 by Giles of Rome, also known as Aegidius Romanus or Egidio Colonna.[5] The opening miniature to this work in the Shrewsbury Book (fol. 327r) commemorated the gift of the original Latin text by Giles to the French King Philip III. In 1282, Gauchi had translated the treatise into French as *Li livres du gouvernement des roys et des princes,* and this became the standard vernacular version, despite competition from further translations in 1330, 1420, and 1444. There are over three hundred and fifty surviving manuscripts of this mirror for princes, including thirty-one copies of the French translation by Gauchi,

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la fin du moyen âge: études sur les armées des rois de France, 1337–1494 (Paris: Mouton, 1972); Malcolm G. A. Vale, *Charles VII* (London: E. Methuen, 1974); Maurice H. Keen, "The End of the Hundred Years War: Lancastrian France and Lancastrian England," in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais,* ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm G. A. Vale (London: Hambledon Press, 1989), pp. 297–309; Valérie Bessey ed., *Construire l'armée française: Textes fondateurs de l'armée française, I: le Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

3. For the place of the *Chroniques de Normandie* and the statutes of the Order of the Garter in this collection, see Karen Fresco's essay in this volume, chapter 9.

4. It is striking that a number of the works selected by John Talbot appear in a recent anthology of the most widely circulated vernacular texts in France between 1350 and 1500, including Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles* and Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles, Ponthus et Sidoine, Renaut de Montauban and Fierabras.* See Frédéric Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du moyen âge: Petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires* (Geneva: Droz, 2007).

5. Henri de Gauchi, *Li livres du governement des rois; a XIIIth-century French version of Egidio Colonna's treatise* De regimine principum, *now first published from the Kerr Ms.,* ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer (London, 1899; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1966). Also see Michel Senellart, *Les arts de gouverner: Du 'regimen' médiéval au concept de gouvernement* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), pp. 180–205, and Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum': Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, ca. 1275–ca. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

which was owned by Kings Charles V and Charles VI, Philip the Bold Duke of Burgundy, John Duke of Berry and Charles of Orléans.[6] Its enormous success rested upon not just the patronage of the French royal family, but also the wide scope of the advice that it offered, drawing upon Aristotelian ideas to explore the principles of royal government, the rule of the family and the household, the education of children, and the conduct of the individual, including a queen.

Like *Li livres du gouvernement des roys et des princes,* the remaining treatises presented in the Shrewsbury Book were didactic works, though concerned more with warfare and chivalry than kingship and government. The *Arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bouvet (fols. 293r–326v) provided a careful analysis of both just war theory and the laws of war, based heavily upon the *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello,* written in 1360 by the Italian lawyer, Giovanni da Legnano.[7] Bouvet translated and adapted his highly legalistic and scholastic source between 1386 and 1389, when he dedicated an extended second draft to King Charles VI of France during his visit to Avignon.[8] Echoing a common prophecy, Bouvet presented Charles as a second Charlemagne who would heal the Church at that time of schism while also bringing to an end the internal division within both Christendom and Bouvet's native Provence. Only by following the advice offered in the book could France be saved from the destruction endured by Babylon, Carthage, Macedonia, and Rome. In practice, his work was one of the first serious attempts to explain and to justify the legal framework for warfare developed by medieval canon and civil lawyers, and thus to ground such rules in not just the authority of imposed law, but also the principles of reason and chivalric honor.[9] It became the most popular medieval vernacular treatise on the laws of war, surviving in at least ninety-one manuscripts; copies were owned by King Charles VI, Philip the Bold and Philip the Good, dukes of Burgundy, Jean Duke of Berry and Jean, count of Clermont, future II Duke of Bourbon, not to mention the Constable of France, Arthur de Richemont.[10]

6. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum,'* pp. 53–73, together with footnote 24 below.

7. There continues to be inconsistency in the presentation of the name of Honoré Bouvet, identified as Honoré Bonet by the editors of earlier editions of the *Arbre* including *L'arbre des batailles d'Honoré Bonet,* ed. Ernest Nys (Brussels: Librairie Européenne C. Marquardt, 1883) and *The Tree of Battle,* ed. George W. Coopland (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949). See Hélène Biu, "Honorat Bovet," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 43 (2005), pp. 83–128 and her forthcoming critical edition.

8. The opening miniature to Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* in the Shrewsbury Book (fol. 293r) commemorated this donation of the treatise to King Charles VI.

9. Nicholas A. R. Wright, "The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bouvet and the Laws of War," in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1976), pp. 12–31, and Philippe Contamine, "Penser la guerre et la paix à la fin du XIVe siècle: Honoré Bouvet (v. 1345–v. 1410)," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 4 (1999), pp. 3–19, [reprinted in his *Pages d'histoire militaire médiévale (XIVe–XVe siècles), Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 32 (Paris, 2005), pp. 297–312].

10. Hélène Biu, *La traduction occitane de* L'Arbre des batailles *d'Honorat Bovet.* Diss. Aggrégation,

The *Arbre des batailles* was one of the principal sources for Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie,* probably composed in 1410 for thirteen-year-old Dauphin Louis of Guyenne on the orders of his governor and father-in-law, John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy.[11] Having discussed the moral and ethical dimensions of the chivalric code in previous works like the *Epistre d'Othea,* the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs de Charles V,* and the *Livre du corps de policie,* Pizan offered a full scale analysis of the practical aspects of chivalry and warfare in the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie.* She presented a remarkable synthesis of both classical and French writings on the art of warfare, combining readings of Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles,* the late fourth-century *Epitoma rei militaris* of Vegetius and the *Strategemata* of Sextus Julius Frontinus (ca. A.D. 30–104).[12] The resulting treatise was an extremely practical introduction to martial chivalry, providing careful advice on training, strategy, tactics, and the legal framework for warfare. The *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* was not as popular as her *Epistre d'Othea,* of which there are nearly forty-seven fifteenth-century copies, but it does survive in twenty-five medieval manuscripts whose owners included Philip the Good of Burgundy, Louis de Bruges, Antoine Great Bastard of Burgundy, Philippe de Croÿ, Guillaume de Nast, and the house of Savoy.[13]

Finally, Pizan's practical approach to chivalry was complemented by Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles,* written shortly after 1415, which offered an abbreviated manual of chivalry in its wider moral and ethical sense. The 454-line poem instructed nobles in the nature of nobility and the twelve requirements that it imposed upon those who claimed that status. Like a liturgical breviary, it provided a brief text that could be consulted daily and also memo-

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École des chartes, 2000, pp. 213–349. For the circulation of manuscripts in England, see footnote 21.

11. Christine Moneer Laennec, "Christine 'Antygrafe': Authorship and Self in Prose Works of Christine de Pizan with an Edition of BN fr. MS 603, "Le Livre des fais d'armes et de chevallerie," PhD diss., Yale University, 1988, and Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* ed. Charity C. Willard, trans. Sumner Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). See chapter 9 by Karen Fresco in this volume.

12. Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Epitoma rei militaris,* ed. Michael D. Reeve (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2004) and Jean de Vignay, *Li livres Flave Vegece de la chose de chevalerie par Jean de Vignay,* ed. Leena Löfstedt (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), discussed in Philippe Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au moyen âge (Ve–XVe siècles)* (Paris: Economica, 1998) and Christopher T. Allmand, "The De re *militari* of Vegetius in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare,* ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux, and Neil Thomas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 15–28. Pizan used the *Strategemata* of Sextus Julius Frontinus indirectly, through the translation of the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus, originally started by Simon de Hesdin at the request of Charles V in 1375 and completed by Nicolas de Gonesse by 1401 under the patronage of the Duke of Berry.

13. See Karen Fresco's chapter 9, pp. 152–56, and Appendix One at the end of her chapter, together with Angus J. Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan, a Bibliographical Guide* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1984), pp. 100–103, and Gianni Mombello, "Christine de Pizan and the House of Savoy," trans. Nadia Margolis, in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan,* ed. Earl J. Richards, Joan Williamson, Nadia Margolis, and Christine Reno (Athens, GA, and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 187–204.

rized, instructing the audience in noble and chivalric virtues like faith, loyalty, justice, courtesy, and largesse.[14] It may not be the best known of Chartier's works today, but it was certainly the most popular in the fifteenth century, surviving in fifty-four manuscripts.[15]

Despite the contemporary popularity of the treatises contained in the Shrewsbury Book, this is the only manuscript to collect together these mirrors for princes and chivalric treatises in one single volume, let alone combine such works with romances and *chansons de geste.* Of the treatises contained in the Shrewbury Book, the one that most commonly appeared in compilations was Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum,* but rarely in a compilation with such a chivalric theme, and never with the works selected by Talbot for the Shrewsbury Book.[16] Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* appears in just three other compilations.[17] The first is BnF Ms. fr. 603, an autograph manuscript that was probably prepared by Christine between 1410 and 1412, and that contains the *Livre des fais d'armes* alongside her *Livre de la mutacion de fortune,* a 24,000 line poem examining the impact of fortune on great men and women, completed in November 1403. The second manuscript is Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale Ms 815, which presents Christine's treatise alongside Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* and Philip IV's ordinances on judicial duels. The third manuscript, BR Ms. 9009–11, also presents the *Livre des fais d'armes* alongside Honoré Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles.* Yet it was written by Jacquemart Pilavaine and illuminated at Mons between 1460 and 1465, long after Talbot's collection, for Philippe de Croÿ, lord of Chimay (d. 1482).[18]

More importantly, the Shrewsbury Book was the first manuscript to introduce many of these French chivalric and military treatises into England. Frankis has suggested that any of the texts contained in the Shrewsbury Book "could

14. Alain Chartier, *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier,* ed. James C. Laidlaw (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 393–409. Also see W. H. Rice, "Deux poèmes sur la chevalerie: le *Breviaire des nobles* d'Alain Chartier et le *Psaultier des vilains* de *Michault Taillevent,*" *Romania* 75 (1954), pp. 54–97, and Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du moyen âge,* pp. 183–96, together with Karen Fresco's chapter 9, pp. 164–70.

15. Chartier, *Poetical Works,* pp. 393–409.

16. See footnote 24 below.

17. See Fresco's comments, chapter 9, pp. 152–56.

18. Marguerite Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: Essai de reconstruction d'après l'inventaire de 1523–1524* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1995), pp. 130–4; Gregory Clark, *Made in Flanders: the Master of the Ghent Privileges and Manuscript Painting in the Southern Netherlands in the Time of Philip the Good* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 122–3; Dominique Deneffe, "Analysing Border Decorations: the Case of the *Histoires Martiniennes,* Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS. 9069," in «*Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers,* ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 2 vols., Corpus van verluchte Handschriften/Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts 11, 12; Low Countries Series 8, 9 (Leuven; Paris/Leuven/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2002), 1: 492; and Anke Esch, "La production de livres de Jacquemart Pilavaine à Mons: Nouvelles perspectives," in «*Als Ich Can,*» pp. 641–68.

possibly have been found in the library of a wealthy English nobleman," with the possible exception of the prose *Guy,* the Garter Statutes, and perhaps the *Chroniques de Normandie.*[19] In practice, though, there is no surviving evidence that any of the treatises selected by Talbot had enjoyed any prominence in England before 1445, apart from Gauchi's translation of the *De regimine principum.*[20] This may seem surprising, in light both of the popularity of many of these works in England after the end of the Hundred Years' War, but also the generous policy of cultural acquisition carried out by the English commanders following the invasion of Normandy in 1417 and the subsequent capture of Paris.[21] Bedford and Gloucester had carried off most of the French royal library from the Louvre, while other English aristocratic families also supplemented their libraries with the spoils of war or legitimately acquired volumes, including most famously Sir John Fastolf, William de La Pole, later Duke of Suffolk, and his wife Alice Chaucer.[22] Yet there is no surviving documentary evidence that any of these individuals had brought copies of Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* or Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* into England before Talbot commissioned the Shrewsbury Book in 1445.[23] Indeed, it is striking that the Lancastrian borrowings from Valois intellectual culture before 1445 largely ignored the developing intellectual debate on the science of warfare and chivalry.

19. John Frankis, "Taste and Patronage Patronage in Late Medieval England as Reflected in Versions of *Guy of Warwick,*" *Medium Aevum* 66 (1997), pp. 80–93 at 82.

20. BL Ms. Harley 4605 contains Pizan's Livre *des fais d'armes,* almost certainly written by a French scribe in May 1434. The explicit states: "Digatz un pater noster et une ave maria per mosseu peyer delasita qui a escrit a quest present livre en lan de nostre senh'r mil. cccc xxxiiijo. Et fut feit a londres a. xv de may." (My thanks to Catherine Nall for advice on this manuscript.) The treatise also appears in London, BL Ms. Royal 19 B.xviii, a manuscript that may be of English provenance and dates from the middle of the fifteenth century.

21. The treatise did enjoy immense success in the aftermath of the Hundred Years' War, particularly with the publication of a Middle English translation by William Caxton printed in 1489. See Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Faytes of Armes and Chyvalre; translated and printed by William Caxton from the French original by Christine de Pisan,* ed. A. T. P. Byles (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932), as well as Cynthia J. Brown, "The Reconstruction of an Author in Print: Christine de Pizan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilynn Desmond (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 215–35; Laurie A. Finke, "Christine de Pizan in England," in *Women's Writings in English: Medieval England* (London: Longman, 1999); Dominique T. Hoche, *The Reception of Christine de Pizan's* Fais d'Armes *in Fifteenth-Century England: Chivalric Self-Fashioning* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008).

22. Jenny Stratford, "The Manuscripts of John Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium,* ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), pp. 329–50; Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 153–258; Carol M. Meale, "'. . . alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch': Laywomen and their Books in Late Medieval England," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150–1500,* ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 159–82.

23. For the impact of these works in England after 1445, see my comments below.

Of the treatises that Talbot selected, Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* was the only one that was widely known in England, both in the original Latin and in translations in French and English. Copies were owned by Edward III, Thomas of Woodstock, Henry Lord Percy, Henry V and his brothers, the dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, as well as Richard Duke of York and his son Richard III as well as perhaps Edward IV. Briggs has argued that the combination of the *De regimine principum* and Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris* in six manuscripts echoes the Shrewsbury Book's presentation of Giles's treatise alongside Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* and indicates a contemporary English interest in the *De regimine principum* as a military manual.[24] Yet the simple juxtaposition of the mirror for princes and a military text like Vegetius does not demonstrate that English princes and aristocrats favored the *De regimine principum* for the advice that it gave on warfare rather than the wider counsel that it offered on kingship and government, the dominant themes of this mirror for princes. Giles dealt with military matters only in the extremely brief final section of his treatise, which gave a rather limited and unimaginative set of principles copied directly from Vegetius. The anonymous chaplain who composed the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* may have claimed that Henry V had drawn military advice from the *De regimine principum* during the siege of Harfleur, just as the same king was praised during a disputation in Oxford in 1420 for having waged war in France according to the advice given by Giles of Rome.[25] Yet it is hard to take such statements at face value, given that they clearly represent the self-serving interests of clerical advisors, seeking to persuade future audiences of the utility and authority of such textual sources, and also to enhance the image of Henry V as a learned and wise man.[26]

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24. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum,'* pp. 65–66 and 152–71. In fact, four of the manuscripts combining Vegetius and the *De regimine principum* that Briggs cites as evidence belonged properly to an ecclesiastical context: London, BL Ms. Royal 12.B.xxi; Oxford, Balliol College Ms. 146a; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Auct. F 3.3; Paris, BnF Ms. lat. 6476. This leaves just the French manuscript (Cambridge, University Library Ms. Ee 2.17) that Robert Roos gave to his cousin, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and the Middle English manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Digby 233) that Thomas Lord Berkeley may have commissioned. Briggs also argues that there was a specifically English reading of Giles of Rome's work as a military treatise, given that the combination appears alongside other military texts in six English manuscripts (that is to say five in combination with Vegetius, and the Shrewsbury Book) compared with just one French exemplar, BnF Ms. lat. 6476. Caution must be taken with this ambitious claim, though, given not only the fragility of the argument that such a juxtaposition proves a military reading of Giles of Rome but also the fact that two of these seven English manuscripts were actually prepared in northern France (Cambridge University Library Ms. Ee 2.17 and BL Ms. Royal E.vi), and that there may be more unidentified examples outside of the limited sample of forty-four continental manuscripts that Briggs considered.

25. Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed. John S. Roskell and Frank Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 42, and Oxford, Magdalen College Ms. 38, fol. 17v, quoted in Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum,'* 64n.

26. See the fuller discussion of this theme in my article, "English Writings."

Indeed, what is striking about the Shrewsbury Book is that it ignored Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris* in favor of Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie,* a treatise that may have drawn upon the Latin source but was very much an adaptation, modernization, and expansion of the original rather than a simple translation.[27] On the surface, Talbot's decision to ignore Vegetius is extremely surprising given that the *Epitoma* was both the dominant military manual in late medieval England and remained popular in France too; over 80 percent of manuscripts identified by Shrader date from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.[28] Vegetius's treatise was a favorite amongst the English aristocracy and royal family, with copies owned by Henry V, Gloucester, Fastolf, and later Richard III. Indeed, Talbot's second wife Margaret Beauchamp, had almost certainly inherited a copy of the Middle English translation of Vegetius commissioned by her grandfather, Thomas Lord Berkeley.[29] That Talbot chose not to use an English translation of Vegetius makes sense given that the Shrewsbury Book was an exclusively French compilation, in which there was no room for the Middle English translation of the *De regimine principum* prepared by John Trevisa for Thomas Lord Berkeley, or for John Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick,* commissioned by Talbot's wife Margaret. Yet in both of those cases, Talbot did include prose French versions, making his decision to ignore Vegetius even more striking:[30] there were, after all, obvious French translations by Jean de Meun, *L'art de chevalerie* (1284), Jean Priorat's verse interpretation of that work, *Li abrejance de l'ordre de chevalerie* (1284–91), or the Jean de Vignay's *Li livres Flave Vegece de la chose de chevalerie* (ca. 1320). Instead Talbot offered Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie,* a work that certainly drew upon

27. See, for example, the remarks offered by Karen Fresco, chapter 9, pp. 161–62.

28. Charles R. Shrader, "A Handlist of Extant Manuscripts Containing the *De Re militari* of Flavius Vegetius Renatus," *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), pp. 280–305, together with the amendments proposed in Vegetius, pp. xiv–xxxiv.

29. This manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby Ms. 233, also contained John Trevisa's Middle English translation of the *De regimine principum,* edited in John Trevisa, *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the De regimine principum of Aegidius Romanus,* ed. David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley (New York: Routledge, 1997). The manuscript contains the swan badge (fol. 199v) that may indicate that it was owned by Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Berkeley and wife of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, together with an inscription (fol. 228) indicating that it subsequently belonged to Mary Lady Hastings and Hungerford, daughter-in-law of William Lord Hastings, chamberlain of Edward IV. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's 'De Regimine Principum,'* p. 167.

30. Frankis, "Taste and Patronage," pp. 88–89. Also see André de Mandach, "L'Anthologie chevaleresque de Marguerite d'Anjou (B. M. Royal 15 E vi) et les officines Saint-Augustin de Canterbury, Jean Wauquelin de Mons, et David Aubert de Hesdin," in *Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes, VIe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals (Aix-en-Provence, 29 août–4 septembre 1973),* ed. Jean Subrenat (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1974), pp. 331–32; Michel-André Bossy, "Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilynn Desmond, Medieval Cultures 14 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 236–56 at 247–48.

Vegetius, but also changed, adapted and in crucial ways modernized that work.

In short, the Shrewsbury Book presented a powerful and wide-ranging set of writings on warfare and chivalric culture, drawing heavily upon recent intellectual developments in France rather than the traditional manuals like Vegetius that had dominated the field in England. These military and chivalric treatises were very much the fruit of wide-ranging public debates triggered by the military failures of French armies and aristocrats, the collapse of public order, and ultimately of Valois attempts to reestablish control and discipline over the armed forces, culminating in the formation of *compagnies d'ordonnance* under Charles VII in 1445.[31] Faced by such crises, French intellectuals had not been content to rely solely upon works like Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris,* but rather sought to comment and contribute directly to the reorientation of military and chivalric culture under the Valois monarchy. It is not surprising that an English commander like Talbot, witnessing firsthand the collapse of English military fortunes in France, might have turned to the intellectual writings that most clearly symbolized and echoed the profound reforms currently being imposed upon the French army.

Talbot was certainly not the only old soldier to see the value of these new French treatises on the arts of warfare and chivalry. In 1447, Nicholas Upton completed the treatise *De studio militari* for Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; this examination of the laws of war drew principally upon Honoré Bouvet's chief source, the *Tractatus de bello, de represaliis et de duello,* written in 1360 by the Italian lawyer, Giovanni da Legnano.[32] A few years later, in perhaps 1451, William Worcester began to write the *Boke of noblesse* at the behest of Sir John Fastolf, based in part upon Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie.*[33] In 1453 John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, cited Honoré Bouvet's

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31. Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du moyen âge,* pp. 207–319, and "Structures militaires de la France et de l'Angleterre au milieu du XVe siècle," in *Das Spätmittelalterliche königtum in europäischen Vergleich,* ed. Reinhard Schneider (Sigmaringen : Jan Thorbecke, 1987), pp. 319–34, together with Bessey, ed., *Construire l'armée française,* pp. 13–124.

32. Upton was subsequently implicated in the court circle of Suffolk, with whom he had served in France under Salisbury. "An Edition, with Introduction and Commentary, of John Blount's English Translation of Nicholas Upton's 'De Studio Militari' (Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. d. 227)," ed. Craig G. Walker, PhD diss., Oxford University, 1998, and Andrew Brown and Craig Walker, "Upton, Nicholas (ca. 1400–1457)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

33. William Worcester, *The Boke of Noblesse: Addressed to King Edward the Fourth on his Invasion of France in 1475,* ed. John G. Nichols (London: B. Franklin, 1860) discussed in Christoper T. Allmand and Maurice H. Keen, "History and the Literature of War: The *Boke of noblesse* of William Worcester," in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France,* ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 92–105, and Daniel Wakelin, *Humanism, Reading and English Literature, 1430–1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 93–125. There is no record that Fastolf owned a copy of Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes,* but the inventory of Fastolf's French books included "Veges de larte de chevalerie": Richard Beadle, "Sir John Fastolf's French Books," in *Medieval Texts in*

treatise in his arraignment of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, before the court of chivalry.[34] Though often divided by personal enmities and feuds, these men shared a common experience of, and an investment in the wars in France. As such, they regarded works like Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* and Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes* as worthy of attention at such a moment of military crisis.[35] Their use of these French treatises provides the bridge to the post-war interest that culminated in William Caxton's publication of *The book of faytes of armes and chyvalre* in 1489.

In the case of John Talbot, it is unclear whether he imagined that the Shrewsbury Book would serve as an educational program for Margaret of Anjou, or for her future son, or even for a military commander like himself. There has been much scholarly debate about whether Talbot carefully assembled the Shrewsbury Book as a tailor-made present for Margaret of Anjou or hastily repackaged his own manuscript as a gift for the new queen.[36] Beyond the important codicological evidence, one must also weigh up the choice of texts that were included in the Shrewsbury Book.[37] The romances and *chansons de geste* that form the core of the compilation, along with *the Chroniques de Normandie,* a history of Normandy up to 1217 based upon Wace's *Roman de Rou,* would certainly have fitted the aims described in the verse dedication in which Talbot imagined his manuscript as providing a pleasant pastime for Margaret, designed to appeal to her because her native tongue was French, but more practically to provide her with knowledge of the history and noble deeds of arms and of chivalry.[38] It is much harder to explain the inclusion of the practical discussions of kingship and the laws and arts of war in Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles,* Gauchi's *Le Livre de politique,* and Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie.*[39] Of the so-called "treatise cycle," only two texts seem directly and

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Context, ed. Graham D. Caie and Denis Renevey (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 103–4.

34. Honoré Bonet [*sic*], *The tree of battles,* ed. and trans. George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 22–23.

35. The longstanding feud between Talbot and Fastolf, originating in 1429, is discussed in Hugh Collins, "Sir John Fastolf, John Lord Talbot and the Dispute over Patay: Ambition and Chivalry in the Fifteenth Century," in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain,* ed. Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 114–40.

36. The two sides of the debate are represented by Catherine Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book: British Library, Royal MS 15 E.VI," *Medieval Art, Architecture, and Archaeology at Rouen,* ed. Jenny Stratford (London: British Archaeological Association, 1993), pp. 109–16, and Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," pp. 236–56. Also see Andrew Taylor's essay in this volume, chapter 7.

37. For the codicological evidence, see Karen Fresco, chapter 9, pp. 157–59 and 171–72, and Appendix One; and Anne D. Hedeman, chapter 6 and Appendices One and Two in this collection.

38. See the transcription of the dedicatory verses (fol. 2v) in Andrew Taylor, chapter 7, pp. 121–22.

39. It seems less likely, for example, that the *Livre des fais d'armes* would have interested Margaret simply because it was written by a woman; Christine de Pizan had herself omitted this text from the compilation of thirty of her works that she presented to the French queen Isabeau of Bavaria in 1414. Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," pp. 249–50, and James C. Laidlaw, "The Date of the Queen's MS (Lon-

personally relevant for Margaret. Book II of the *De regimine principum* offered very traditional advice on marital relations, the proper conduct of women, and the education of children.[40] Moreover, the Statutes of the Order of the Garter provided a copy of the amended rules issued at the end of the reign of Henry V. This document was given to new companions in the form of a parchment roll upon their election, and copies also survive in manuscripts owned by the Companions and also heralds.[41] This would have served to prepare Margaret for her induction into the Order in 1447.[42] But in 1445, no one could possibly have foreseen the role that the queen would ultimately play in the Wars of the Roses following the collapse of her husband, and therefore imagine that the other treatises would be of direct relevance or interest to her.[43]

It would therefore appear that this collection was more suited for her future son, though it is intriguing that the educational ideal espoused in the Shrewsbury Book was much more concerned with Valois thinking on chivalry and warfare than the science of government and politics. Though the Shrewsbury Book did present Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum,* it ignored the enormous developments in this field under the Valois monarchy, particularly during the reign of Charles V (1364–80). For example, Jean Golein had translated into French *De informatione principum,* a mirror for princes written by an anonymous author, perhaps a Dominican, shortly after Nicole Oresme had

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don, British Library, Harley MS 4431)" at http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf.

40. Paulette L'Hermite Leclercq, "La femme dans le *De regimine principum* de Gilles de Rome" in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au moyen âge, Mélanges en l'honneur de Philippe Contamine,* ed. Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris, 2000), pp. 471–79.

41. There were at least six other copies, including one owned by William Worcester (College of Arms, Ms. Arundel 48, fols. 185r–191v), presumably thanks to his employer, Sir John Fastolf, elected to the Order of the Garter on 22 April 1426, and another (London, BL Ms. Additional 34801, fols. 19–28), that may originally have belonged to John Mowbray of Norfolk (died 1432) and was later owned by Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. See Lisa Jefferson, "MS Arundel 48 and the Earliest Statutes of the Order of the Garter," *English Historical Review* 431 (1994), pp. 356–85, and "Statutes and Records: The Statutes of the Order," in *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 years,* ed. Peter J. Begent and Hubert Chesshyre (London: Spink & Son Ltd., 1999), pp. 52–89.

42. Diana Dunn, "Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Order of the Garter," in *St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. Colin Richmond and Eileen Scarff, Historical Monographs Relating to St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle 17. (Windsor: Dean and Canons of Windsor; Leeds: Maney, 2001), pp. 45–46, and, for the wider history of female members of the Order, see James L. Gillespie, "Ladies of the Fraternity of Saint George and of the Society of the Garter," *Albion* 17 (1985), pp. 259–78.

43. A[nthony] J. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France, 1427–1453* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983), p. 123, and Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," p. 111. Also see Diana Dunn, "Margaret of Anjou, Queen Consort of Henry VI: a Reassessment of her Role, 1443–53," in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century,* ed. Rowena E. Archer (Stroud, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 113–34, and "Margaret of Anjou, Chivalry and the Order of the Garter," pp. 40–42.

translated Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics.*[44] In an original work, the *Somnium viridarii,* Evrart de Trémaugon offered Charles V advice on a wide range of questions relating to kingship and also advised princes to follow the example of the French king by listening to passages from Aristotle's works every day, in order to learn natural lordship and how to live justly and to govern and guard his people.[45] In 1389, Philippe de Mézières completed his *Songe du vieil pelerin,* giving counsel to Charles VI on all aspects of royal government, from the managing of finances and the choice of advisors to the defense of the church and the art of warfare and chivalry. Not surprisingly, his recommendations for reading by the young king and his brother Louis d'Orléans ranged equally widely, including not just Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* but also Scripture, Nicole Oresme's translations of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics,* the writings of St. Augustine and John of Salisbury, the works of Livy and Valerius Maximus, and histories of the Nine Worthies and Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris.*[46] Similarly, when Jean Gerson set out a reading program for the Dauphin, he included not only the histories of the Nine Worthies, Vegetius, and Giles of Rome but also the Scriptures, Aristotle's *Ethics, Politics* and *Economics,* and the writings of Livy and Valerius Maximus.[47] Compared with these Valois reading programs, the Shrewsbury Book clearly favored the military and chivalric over the wider science of politics and kingship.[48] Talbot's anthology did include many tales

44. Golein's *Régime des princes,* currently being edited by Outi Merisalo, is incorrectly imagined to be a French translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* by a number of modern scholars, for example in Reynolds, 115n. Also see Catherine Reynolds, "English Patrons and French Artists in Fifteenth-Century Normandy," in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages,* ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), p. 305. For Oresme's translations, see Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de éthiques d'Aristote; published from the Text of MS 2902, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique with a Critical Introduction and Notes,* ed. Albert Douglas Menut (New York: Stechert, 1940) and *Le livre de politiques d'Aristote, published from the Text of the Avranches Manuscript 223, with a Critical Introduction and Notes by Albert Douglas Menut, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* new series, 60:6 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970), pp. 1–392.

45. Evrart de Trémaugon, *Somnium viridarii,* ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1993–95), I, chapters 135–36. The advice was repeated in the vernacular translation by Jean Le Fèvre, *Le songe du vergier: édité d'après le manuscrit Royal 19 C IV de la British Library,* ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, 2 vols. (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1982), I, chapters 133–34.

46. Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin,* ed. George W. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1969) 1, 512–33, 520 and 2, 220–24 and 381.

47. There is debate about the dating and audience for the two sets of advice that Gerson wrote: the *Tractatus* may have been composed in either 1408–10 or 1417, and the *Instructiones* in either 1417 or 1429. See Antoine Thomas, *Jean Gerson et l'éducation des dauphins de France; Étude critique suivie du texte de deux de ses opuscules et de documents inédits sur Jean Majoris précepteur de Louis XI* (Paris: Droz, 1930) and Jacques Verger, "*Ad prefulgidum sapiencie culmen prolem regis inclitam provehere;* L'initiation des dauphins de France à la sagesse politique selon Jean Gerson," in *Penser le pouvoir au moyen âge (VIIIe–XVe siècle),* ed. Dominique Boutet and Jacques Verger (Paris: Presse de l'École Normale Supérieure, 2000), pp. 427–40.

48. One factor in this may have been the availability of texts in Rouen, though it is important to

of the Nine Worthies, but ignored the great works of theology and political philosophy by Aristotle, Augustine, Aquinas, and John of Salisbury, and also shunned the recent mirrors for princes by Trémaugon and Mézières, not to mention much more obvious educational tracts by Christine de Pizan herself, such as her most popular work, the *Epistre d'Othea* (1399–1400), the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404), or the *Livre du corps de policie* (1406–7).[49] In short, Talbot's collection focused almost exclusively upon the chivalric and military aspects of the recent Valois intellectual revival, ignoring the wider range of reading recommended for princes and noblemen in France during the late Middle Ages. Here was an anthology that would equip the future king for war, not peace, deliberately fanning the young boy's passions and desires for such conflict.

Yet it may be too crude to imagine that Talbot's objective was simply to shape the mind of one particular individual, whether it be Margaret of Anjou or her future son. Simply preparing such an anthology made a powerful statement about the continued importance of the war in France at a moment when English support was waning. It also championed the need for deeper thought about chivalric and martial culture, and perhaps about military reform, while also demonstrating Talbot's status as an authority on such matters. Indeed whether an English audience would have recognized how much of an advance Christine's treatises offered upon Vegetius's great work may be less important than the fact that Talbot was attaching his name to the very latest treatises on the science of warfare and chivalry.

In 1445, many in England celebrated the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou as an opportunity for peace. As the new queen reached the Southwark end of London Bridge on her entry into the capital, she was greeted by Dame Peace who prophesized that "Twixt the reawmes two, Englande and Fraunce, / Pees shal approche, rest and vnite, / Mars sette aside, with alle hys cruelte, / Whiche to longe hath troubled the reawmes tweyne."[50] The dedicatory

note, for example, that Jean Golein's *Régime des princes* was included in another manuscript prepared for the échevinage of Rouen around 1450, Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 126. See chapter 6 by Anne D. Hedeman, pp. 101–2.

49. Of these three texts, only the *Epistre d'Othea* appeared in the manuscript that Pizan herself prepared for Isabeau of Bavaria, BL Ms. Harley 4431, fols. 95a–141c. It is important to stress that many of the works that formed the wider Valois program of reading for a prince were known in England before the Shrewsbury Book. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, for example, received copies of the *Songe du vergier* and Pierre Bersuire's translation of Livy from his brother John Duke of Bedford in 1427, taken originally from the French royal library at the Louvre, and he also owned Leonardo Bruni's translation of Aristotle's Ethics, and commissioned the famous humanist to prepare a Latin translation of the Politics. See Alfonso Sammut, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua: Antenore, 1980), pp. 122 and 215–16; and Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England*, pp. 95–96, 164–66, and 244.

50. She was then told of the arrival of the dove carrying "the braunche of pees" that signified to

poem in the Shrewsbury Book may also have praised peace, but the anthology itself offered a more bellicose position. On the one hand, prowess was clearly celebrated in the romances and *chansons de geste,* but more bluntly the famous genealogical tree (fol. 3r; see figure 3) gave such energies a focus and direction, that is to say in Henry VI's claim to the thrones of both England and France, the Dual Monarchy.[51] The model for this genealogical tree had originally been presented alongside verses written in 1423 by the Frenchman, Lawrence Calot, on the commission of the Duke of Bedford, in order to publicize Henry VI's claim to the French throne in Paris and presumably beyond.[52] The Order of the Garter also served as a symbol of the war, supposedly founded by Edward III in defense of his claim to the French crown.[53] Finally, the *Chroniques de Normandie* presented a historical case for English claims to the duchy of Normandy, independent of claim to the French throne, conveniently ignoring the treaty of Paris of 1259 and the treaty of Brétigny of 1360 in which English kings had given up their claims to Normandy.[54]

The genealogical tree in the Shrewsbury Book may also have offered commentary on the internal debates within the English government about the war with France. The Valois and Plantagenet branches of the tree are not supported by the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford, as in Calot's original, but rather by Richard Duke of York and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. Though both were close relatives of Henry VI, his second cousin and uncle respectively, they were also controversial figures in 1445 precisely because they represented a hawkish attitude towards the war that was out of tune with the prevailing drive at the English court for negotiation with the French that had led to the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret.[55] Just two years later, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester

Noah that his ordeal was at an end. See Gordon Kipling, "The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: a Medieval Script Restored," *Medieval English Theatre* 4 (1982), pp. 17 and 19–20.

51. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," pp. 109–16. See also the chapters by Andrew Taylor (chapter 7, p. 122) and Anne D. Hedeman (chapter 6, pp. 106–14) in this collection.

52. B[enedicta] J. H. Rowe, "King Henry's Claims to France in Picture and Poetry," *The Library,* 4th series 13 (1932), pp. 77–88, John W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422–1432," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp. 151–55; and Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of Henry VI,* 2nd ed. (Stroud, NY: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1998), pp. 217–28.

53. W. Mark Ormrod, "For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter," in *St. George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century,* ed. Nigel Saul (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 13–34.

54. Anne Curry, "Lancastrian Normandy: The Jewel in the Crown?" in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages,* ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 235–52; and Jean-Philippe Genet, "La Normandie vue par les historiens et les politiques anglais au XVe siècle," in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au moyen âge,* ed. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 277–306.

55. In 1445, York and Gloucester were also implicitly the next in line to the throne, though this was certainly a point of limited importance in a gift celebrating the king's marriage and hence the imminent possibility of an heir; certainly the succession to the throne was a touchy subject at this moment

was murdered, and in 1450, York took advantage of parliamentary and popular opposition to Suffolk and those responsible for the loss of Normandy to return triumphantly from Ireland and try to seize control of the government. In other words, this was a time when leadership at the highest levels was faltering and English enthusiasm for the occupation of Normandy was rapidly declining in the face of local opposition and terrorism, and taxpayers at home continued to balk at the high cost of the military enterprise. Talbot was deployed to Ireland soon after the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, perhaps because of his lack of sympathy for the peace policy.[56]

Talbot had certainly had a long-standing involvement in the enterprise in France and therefore a continued stake in its justification. Alongside his father-in-law, and comrade in arms, Richard Beauchamp, Talbot had been a key figure in the English enterprise in France.[57] In 1423, Beauchamp had commissioned John Lydgate's translation of Lawrence Calot's verses in support of the Dual Monarchy that had supported the genealogical tree reproduced in the Shrewsbury Book.[58] Following success in Wales and Ireland, and limited involvement in France under Henry V, Talbot's reputation reached new levels during the campaigns in Maine in 1427 and 1428 and the defense of the Norman frontier following the loss of Paris in 1436. The miniature introducing the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (folio 405r) in the Shrewsbury Book represented Talbot's appointment as marshal of France, explicitly identifying him with the enterprise in France (see figure 6).[59] Moreover, the anthology celebrated Talbot's membership in the Order of the Garter, both by the inclusion of the Statutes but also through his representation wearing the Garter robes.[60] His passion for the

in the reign of Henry VI. See Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," pp. 245–46, and in general, see Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Sense of Dynasty in the Reign of Henry VI," in *Patronage, Pedigree and Politics in Later Medieval England,* ed. Charles D. Ross (Gloucester: A Sutton, 1979), pp. 13–36.

56. Pollard, *John Talbot and the War in France,* pp. 60–61.

57. Beauchamp, his daughter Margaret, and his son-in-law Talbot had been central figures in the coronation of Henry VI as king of France in Paris in December 1431, as reported in the Household Book of the Earl of Warwick. See Dorothy Styles and Christopher T. Allmand, "The Coronations of Henry VI," *History Today* 32 (May 1982), pp. 28–33, and Marie-Véronique Clin-Meyer, "Le registre de comptes de Richard Beauchamp, comte de Warwick 14 mars 1431–15 mars 1432," PhD diss., École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1981.

58. See footnote 52 above, together with Linne R. Mooney, "Lydgate's *Kings of England* and Another Verse Chronicle of the Kings," *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 255–89.

59. See Karen Fresco in this volume, chapter 9, pp. 156–57, together with Bossy, "Arms and the Bride." For a gendered reading of this replacement of Pizan with Talbot as an attempt to mask female agency, see Nancy Bradley Warren, "French women and English men: Joan of Arc, Margaret of Anjou and Christine de Pizan in England, 1445–1540," *Exemplaria* 16.2 (Fall 2004), pp. 412–3; republished in *Women of God and arms. Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380–1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 64–65.

60. The Garter also features heavily in the heraldry of three Books of Hours made for the Talbots: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 40–1950 and Ms. 41–1950; Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Dep. 221/1 = Blairs College Ms. 1. At some time before 1441, he had presented vestments

Order emphasized his loyalty to the English crown and to Henry VI, and also served to justify himself following his famous efforts to drum Sir John Fastolf out of the Order for conduct unbecoming of a Knight of the Garter following the battle of Patay in 1429, at which Talbot himself had been captured.[61]

At the same time, the choice of treatises may have served to support Talbot's own ambitions to do more than merely provide the tools with which to educate a future heir to the throne. He had married Beauchamps's daughter, Margaret, in around 1424, and in June 1428 his father-in-law had been appointed personal governor and tutor to Henry VI, famously carrying the young king to his coronation in November 1429. The Shrewsbury Book may have been presenting a case for Talbot's appointment to the same role for a future Prince of Wales, by asserting the connection between the new hero of the French wars and his father-in-law, Richard Beauchamp. In the presentation image (folio 2v), Talbot is identified not only by his famous mastiff but also by his heraldic arms in their simplest but grandest form, with the shield of the Beauchamp earls of Warwick in pretence, an unusual arrangement that did not reappear in the manuscript.[62] The compilation also includes a prose French *Guy de Warrewik,* a figure powerfully connected to the Warwick family in general and Richard Beauchamp in particular, having acquired Gibcliff, supposedly the site of Guy's hermitage, in 1422 as the site for a chantry chapel.[63] It has been suggested that Talbot could have acquired or commissioned the prose French *Guy de Warrewik*

patterned with Garters to the church of Saint-Sepulchre in Rouen in honor of St. George, whose cult had been fostered there by the Archer's Guild of Cinquantenaire. Paul Casimir Noël Marie Joseph Le Cacheux, *Rouen au temps Jeanne d'Arc et pendant l'occupation anglaise, 1419–1449* (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1931), pp. li–lii, 36–40, 378–79.

61. C. A. J. Armstrong, "Sir John Fastolf and the Law of Arms," in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. C. T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1976), pp. 46–56 [reprinted in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 123–35]; and Collins, "Sir John Fastolf, John Lord Talbot and the Dispute over Patay," pp. 114–40. In the miniature accompanying the Garter Statutes (fol. 439r), the figures are probably not meant to represent Talbot (elected in 1424) or Henry VI, who would surely have been recognizable, but rather Edward III and the founding knights. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury book," p. 111.

62. On the death of Richard Beauchamp, the earldom of Warwick passed to his son by his second marriage, Henry, who died the year after the Shrewsbury Book was completed. It then fell to Henry's infant daughter Anne, until her death in 1449, when it passed to Richard Neville, husband of Anne Beauchamp, Richard's daughter by his first marriage. Thus it is extremely unlikely that Talbot was asserting his claim to the earldom of Warwick in 1445, though in his will dated 1 September 1452, he did ask to be buried in the New Chapel at the college of Warwick, in case his claim to the earldom was later acknowledged. His wife Margaret is not known to have combined the Talbot and Beauchamp arms in the manner that they appear in the presentation image in the Shrewsbury Book. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury book," p. 109.

63. The prose French *Guy de Warrewik* is written in Parisian French and survives in just two manuscripts, the Shrewsbury Book and Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 1476, owned by Marguerite de Rohan, wife of Jean d'Angoulême. See Frankis, "Taste and Patronage," pp. 80–86; and also *Le rommant de Guy de Warwik et de Herolt d'Ardenne,* ed. D. J. Conlon (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972). Also see Andrew Taylor, chapter 7, p. 123, in this volume.

when he married Margaret Beauchamp in 1425, at the same time that she asked John Lydgate to compose a verse *Guy of Warwick* in English.[64] The inclusion of the *Chevalier au cygne* in the Shrewsbury Book meant that the manuscript also celebrated another figure closely connected to the Beauchamp family, the Swan Knight. They laid claim to a swan badge following the marriage of Guy Beauchamp I to Alice de Tosny, and this emblem appeared on the garter plates of both Thomas Beauchamp II and his son Richard Beauchamp.[65]

In conclusion, Talbot was making a powerful public statement simply by championing French treatises on the science of warfare and chivalry over older, more established works led by Vegetius's *Epitoma rei militaris,* which his wife's family had previously translated into English. The timing of this manuscript is striking. The year 1445 marked a liminal moment in the course of the Hundred Years' War, as the truce enacted by the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou gave the French time to implement the military reforms that would facilitate the astonishingly rapid reconquest of Normandy and then Gascony. Whether Talbot and his fellow captains understood the depth of the crisis is unprovable, but it is certain that the subsequent events changed the culture of warfare and chivalry in England and created a ready audience for the Valois treatises that he had recommended. We cannot know how far Talbot himself read or reflected on the treatises and texts contained in the Shrewsbury Book, and whether they shaped his own views of chivalry and warfare.[66] Yet there is no doubt that subsequent generations of Englishmen were increasingly open to the lessons that these French writers could offer.

64. Frankis, "Taste and Patronage," pp. 84 and 88.

65. Richard also inherited from his father Thomas Beauchamp, a "cup of the swan." Anthony R. Wagner, "The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight," *Archaeologia* 97 (1959), pp. 127–38; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 113–16; and Yin Liu, "Richard Beauchamp and the Uses of Romance," *Medium Aevum* 74 (2005), pp. 271–87 at 271. For the *Chevalier au cygne,* see Emanuel J. Mickel, Jr., and Jan A. Nelson, "BM Royal 15 E VI and The Epic Cycle of the First Crusade," *Romania* 92 (1971), pp. 532–56.

66. For Talbot as a "man of chivalry," see Pollard, pp. 122–30.

CHAPTER 9

Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* and the Coherence of BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi

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The Shrewsbury Book is a gift that impresses by its massive size (470 mm × 330 mm) as well as by its length. It incorporates sixteen works (counting *Herold d'Ardenne,* presented as a sequel to *Guy de Warrewik*) and numbers 442 folios. The very elements of its magnificence pose a problem of reception: how is the reader to grasp the relation among its various parts or take in the overarching organization of the anthology? The very length of the codex means that visual clues in its decoration (the frequency and composition of the miniatures, the hierarchy suggested by the borders and illuminated capitals) are more effective than textual content in communicating the archeology of the volume. Whereas previous scholarship has found coherence based on the texts, grouped according to genre, this study moves between mise-en-page and text. Instead of a seriatim reading of the anthology's romances and treatises, the manuscript's pages turn, letting the decoration invite a pause and consideration of links across individual texts, which are then studied in detail.

I begin by considering the Shrewsbury Book in the context of the manuscript tradition of the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* in order to identify what is distinctive about this particular manuscript witness. I then investigate the relationship between Christine's treatise and other texts located at key points in the anthology, revealing her work's key function within the order of texts. Two appendices supplement this essay. Appendix One is a transcription of the manuscript's table of contents, contemporaneous with the compilation of the volume. Appendix Two summarizes the manuscript tradition of the *Fais d'armes*

in table form. Figure 3 is the dedication miniature (fol. 2v); figure 10 shows the miniature that opens Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles* (fol. 403r); and figure 6 is the opening page of the *Fais d'armes* (fol. 405r).

I. Royal 15 E. vi in the Manuscript Tradition of Christine's *Fais d'armes*

Where does the Shrewsbury Book figure in the profile of the manuscript tradition for this work? There are twenty-five manuscript copies of the *Fais d'armes* known to us today (see Appendix Two, the table of manuscripts, at the end of this chapter).[1] Let us consider what sorts of manuscripts these are—of what materials they are made and what their sizes, dates, and provenance are—in order to understand the patterns of reception of this particular work and how Royal 15.E.vi is located within them.

Setting aside the two modern copies for the purpose of this study, eleven of these manuscripts are made of vellum or parchment and twelve are on paper. All of these manuscripts date from the fifteenth century. Those in the first group were made between the early to the third quarter of the fifteenth century while the paper manuscripts tend to date from later in the century. A larger number of these paper manuscripts, five, are only approximately dated "fifteenth century" compared to only two of the manuscripts on parchment.[2] This may be because the manuscripts on parchment or vellum tend to be decorated and were made for important people. They have thus attracted more scholarly attention. The manuscripts on parchment or vellum are consistently more elaborate, with all but three of them bearing miniatures, floral borders, illuminated capitals, and rubrics. The manuscripts on paper, on the other hand, may have only red rubrics

1. For the purpose of this discussion, I will put aside the two modern copies, the one made by Duchesne in the seventeenth century and the copy made in the nineteenth century (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Raccolta di Saluzzo Ms. 328). Because descriptions of the manuscripts, whether detailed or limited, are available I will include the three manuscripts that have passed into private ownership, one sold by Sotheby's in 1902, a Middle High German translation of the *Fais d'armes* in a private collection in Basel, and a third listed in Patrick and Elisabeth Sourget's catalogue, *Manuscrits et livres précieux,* 12 (1995, Item 1). I am grateful to Christine Reno for calling my attention to this manuscript. She showed François Avril a photocopy of the miniature from the catalogue and he suggested a date of 1410–1420. The description of this manuscript in the catalogue of the 1912 sale of Robert Hoe's collection of rare books and manuscripts indicates the presence of a table of contents at the beginning ("Cy commence la table des Rubriches du liure des fais darmes et de cheuallerie lequel dit liures est partis en quatre parties . . ."), and four large miniatures, the first of which represents "Christine de Pisan kneeling before the wise lady Minerva." *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe of New York* . . . Part II A–K, to be sold by auction beginning on Monday, January 8, 1912, The Anderson Auction Company, Madison Avenue at Fortieth Street, New York, pp. 374–75.

2. A study of watermarks in these manuscripts may enable a more precise dating and geographical localization.

and paragraph marks; two include initials and paragraph marks in a second color and one has pen and ink drawings. However, there is less information about these paper manuscripts: catalogue descriptions do not detail decoration for four of them.

The largest manuscripts tend to be made of parchment and to be richly decorated.[3] The three largest codices, which run from 470 to 375 mm high and from 330 to 270 mm wide, are all on parchment, highly decorated, and made between 1413 and 1465. A second cluster of five manuscripts ranges from 315 to 306 mm high and from 230 to 203 mm wide.[4] These manuscripts are also all made of parchment or vellum and (except for one) bear miniatures, borders, decorated capitals, and paragraph marks. These manuscripts were made from before 1430 to the third quarter of the century. The thirteen manuscripts that make up the third group are all on paper except for three (BR Ms. 10476 and BnF fr. 1241, dated to the fifteenth century, and the "Robert Hoe" manuscript possibly 1410–1420). These run from 295–270 mm in height to 215–185 mm in width. With the exception of BR 10476, manuscripts in this group are dated either "fifteenth century" or to the second half/late fifteenth century.

Seven of these manuscripts are connected with the Burgundian court. Two early manuscripts (BR 10476 and BR 10205), the first thought to have been copied in Paris by Christine herself and the second made before 1430 and thus quite possibly during her lifetime, figure in the 1467 and 1469 inventories of the Librairie de Bourgogne. Three belonged to great nobles and bibliophiles closely connected to the Burgundian court: BnF fr. 585, made, perhaps in Bruges, for Louis de Bruges; BR 9009–9011, made in Mons and owned by Philippe de Croÿ, Count of Chimay; and Turin, Archivio di Stato J.b.II.15, made—in Bruges?—and owned by Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy.[5] The manuscript containing the German translation of the *Fais d'armes* was made for Jakob I vom Stein, who belonged to a circle of nobles in Berne strongly influenced by Burgundian style and taste.[6] London, BL Harley 4605 belonged to a

3. The current sizes of manuscripts are often smaller than they were originally due to cropping when they were rebound.

4. I exclude the manuscript in the Saint Petersburg, (formerly) Imperial Library of Saint Petersburg Ms. F.II.96 because the catalogue description does not give precise measurements and notes only "in-folio," which is a relative term. See A[ntoine] de Laborde, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de Saint-Pétersbourg,* 2 vols. (Paris: Société Française de Reproduction de Manuscrits, 1936, 1937), 1: 61–62.

5. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see Gianni Mombello, "Christine de Pizan and the House of Savoy," trans. Nadia Margolis, in *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan,* ed. Earl J. Richards, Joan Williamson, Nadia Margolis, and Christine Reno (Athens, GA, and London: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 187–204 at 195–97.

6. For a detailed description of this manuscript and its cultural context, see Wolfram Schneider-Lastin, "Christine de Pizan Deutsch: Eine Übersetzung des "Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie" in einer unbekannten Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Lit-*

Burgundian monastery in the early eighteenth century, and Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Raccolta di Saluzzo 17 may be a Franco-Flemish production.[7] The two earliest manuscripts were made in Paris (BR 10476 and BnF fr. 603), but the connection of the *Fais d'armes* with Burgundy remains strong throughout the century. This profile is thus somewhat different from the patterns described by Willard for Christine's oeuvre overall. She notes that during the middle of the fifteenth century, Christine's works were known especially at the court of Burgundy but that during the second half of the century, her popularity centered on Paris.[8] Three manuscripts dating between 1434 and "mid-fifteenth century" are thought to have been copied in England.[9] With these, the Shrewsbury Book indicates the extension of Christine's reception across the Channel.

Considered against this background, Royal 15.E.vi is exceptional. It stands out as the largest and most lavishly produced of this corpus of manuscripts. With BL Royal B. xviii and BR 9009–11, it forms a group of parchment manuscripts made in mid-century. Compiled in Rouen, thus in Anglo-Burgundian territory, the choice of texts reflects Burgundian tastes. Besides the *Fais d'armes,* which was well represented in the collections of the Dukes of Burgundy and their imitators,[10] the collection includes other epic and chivalric romances favored by the Burgundian court: the Alexander romance, the *Chevalier au cygne, Renaud de Montauban,* and *Ogier le danois* as well as Henri de Gauchi's *Gouvernement des princes,* a French translation of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum,* and Honoré Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles.* Other texts in the anthology reflect English tastes: the *Chroniques de Normandie* and the Statutes of the Order of the Garter, of course, but also the epic romances *Aspremont* and *Guy de Warrewik* and the romance *Pontus.*[11]

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eratur 125 (1996), pp. 187–201; and Danielle Buschinger, "Christine de Pizan en Allemagne," in *Contexts and Continuities; proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow 21–27 July 2000)* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), pp. 171–73.

7. This hypothesis is based on a watermark; see Mombello, "Christine de Pizan and the House of Savoy," pp. 187–204 at 198; and Everett L. Wheeler, "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie:* Gender and the Prefaces," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 46 (2002), pp. 119–61, 128n37.

8. Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan, Her Life and Works: A Biography* (New York: Persea Books, 1990), pp. 212–24.

9. See footnote 58 below.

10. Louis de Bruges commissioned a copy (BnF Ms. fr. 585). The house of Chimay owned two copies: Charles de Croÿ, Count of Chimay (d. 1470) owned a copy that was sold at auction in 1902; Philippe de Croÿ (d. 1482) owned a copy (now BR Ms. 9009–11), which was sold to Marguerite of Austria in 1511 (see below). The Counts of Savoy owned two copies of the *Fais d'armes,* both recorded in the 1498 inventory made at Chambéry. Marguerite of Austria had 3 copies in her collections: one that does not appear in the 1516 inventory of her books made at Mechlin went in 1530 to Marie of Hungary, entered the Escurial library in 1576, and was sold in Madrid in 1600; a second, given by her to the Count of Hocstrate in 1525, does not appear in the 1516 inventory; a third, purchased from the Count of Chimay in 1511 (see above), went to Mary of Hungary in 1530 and then entered the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne in 1559. Antoine the Great Bastard of Burgundy had a copy (now Turin, Archivio di Stato, Ms. J.B.II.15). Jakob I vom Stein (d. 1480) of Berne owned a copy now in a private collection.

11. Writing about an earlier period, Keith Busby remarks on the relatively high number of *chansons*

The manuscripts containing the *Fais d'armes* form two groups: those that preserve Christine's references to herself, together with feminine pronouns and adjective endings, in the main preface to the work and in the preface to book three (Byles's Group A); and those, slightly more numerous, that remove these references, substituting "l'aucteur" or "le disciple" in these prefaces (Byles's Group B).[12] In addition, manuscripts in Group B have a table of chapters at the beginning of the work whereas those of Group A have a table of chapters before each of the four parts. The Shrewsbury Book belongs to Group A, which includes manuscripts that are generally earlier and of higher quality than the Group B manuscripts.

The Shrewsbury Book is in a distinct minority in presenting the *Fais d'armes* as part of a collection. Twenty-one of the twenty-five extant manuscripts contain only this text. Royal 15.E.vi is by far the largest anthology of the four manuscripts that include Christine's treatise with other texts. What other works are included with the *Fais d'armes* in these anthologies? BnF fr. 603 contains one other text, Christine's *Mutacion de Fortune,* a long didactic, historical work in verse, and so constitutes a manuscript dedicated exlusively to Christine.[13] Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 815 includes a chronicle of the kings of France. BR 9009–11 sandwiches Christine's treatise between Honoré Bouvet's *Arbre des batailles* (also in our manuscript) and ordinances of Philippe le Bel on judicial duels, a text which echoes Christine's mention at the conclusion of Part IV, Chapter 7 of the *Fais d'armes,* that the king had forbidden duels.[14] This anthology constitutes a closely associated small group of texts on the proper conduct of war. It recognizes, as does the Shrewsbury anthology, that the *Fais d'armes* is a response to Bouvet's treatise and so pairs them. Generally speaking, then, the *Fais d'armes* is associated with historical works and didactic treatises on war and chivalry. Royal 15.E.vi reflects this tonality but it is unusual in the large number of other works that it includes and in their variety, for besides

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de geste in the Anglo-Norman corpus and names *La Chanson d'Aspremont,* the *Romance of Horn* (of which the *Roman de Pontus* is an adaptation), and *Gui de Warewic.* "The Geography of the Codex: I. Normandy, England, and the Angevin Domains," in *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript,* 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 2: 485–513, esp. 495–98. Busby discusses the manuscript tradition of the *Chanson d'Aspremont* in particular, and critiques André de Mandach's theory of "ateliers épiques" at such abbeys as Canterbury: "Varieties of Scribal Behaviour," in *Codex and Context* 1:119–25.

12. *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye, translated and printed by William Caxton from the French original by Christine de Pisan,* ed. A. T. P. Byles (London: Published for the Early English Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1932); rpt. (New York: Kraus Reprint 1971), pp. xiv–xvi. We do not know whether the "Robert Hoe" manuscript, which, according to the catalogue description, opens with a table of chapters, retains Christine's references to herself.

13. Laidlaw lists this manuscript among the fifty extant presentation copies produced by Christine's scriptorium. He dates it to 1410–1412? which is earlier than previous scholars, who suggested 1413–1415.

14. Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* ed. Charity Cannon Willard, trans. Sumner Willard (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), p. 199.

chivalric treatises and a chronicle, the anthology encompasses nine epic and chivalric romances that develop themes of *translatio imperii,* dynastic glorification, and the instruction of princes.

II. Reading the *Fais d'armes* within the Order of Texts

Three scholars have written about the *Fais d'armes* in the context of Royal 15.E.vi, largely from the point of view of the issue of female authorship and reception. Frances Teague presents the historical contexts in which the anthology was compiled and in which Caxton made his English translation of Christine's treatise,[15] noting that the presence of the *Fais d'armes* in this collection raises the question "about the role a medieval woman could play (as a writer, warrior, ruler) and the problem of incompetent kings" (26). The chivalric theme is the focus that links the diverse elements of the collection; the manuscript is directed to both Margaret and Henry, both of whom were interested in noble heroic conduct.

Looking at the connections between the organization of the collection, several of its miniatures, and the court politics that shaped the anthology, Michel-André Bossy distinguishes the pedagogical aim of the collection: to instill martial principles in the royal couple.[16] Christine's treatise is directly connected with this purpose. However, the miniature that introduces her text displaces her image, replacing it with one of John Talbot accepting from the king the position of Marshal of France.[17] Thus Bossy finds that Christine's authorial presence

15. Frances Teague, "Christine de Pizan's Book of War," in *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City,* ed. Glenda K. McLeod (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991), pp. 25–41.

16. Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," pp. 236–56.

17. Was the manuscript from which the Ms. Royal 15.E.vi text was copied likely to have had a version of the famous opening miniature of Christine in her study juxtaposed to Minerva in armor? Eight of the manuscripts contain miniatures. Of these, four belong to Byles's Group A along with the Shrewsbury anthology: BR Ms. 10476 (made in Paris after 1410) shows Christine in her study speaking with Minerva, attended by a group of soldiers; BnF Ms. fr. 603 (made in Paris 1410–1412?) shows Christine, Minerva, and soldiers at a tournament; BL Harley Ms. 4605 (made in 1434) shows Christine in her study and Minerva outside standing in armor holding her sword; BR Ms. 9009–11 (made in Mons ca. 1465) shows Christine in her study in front of her desk reading a book. The other three manuscripts belong to Byles's Group B: Turin, Biblioteca Reale, Raccolta di Saluzzo Ms. 17 (second half of the fifteenth century, Franco-Flemish) has an opening miniature showing two squads of soldiers advancing against each other; Turin, Archivio di Stato Ms. J.b.II.15 (Flemish, perhaps made in Bruges in the third quarter of the fifteenth century) opens with a full-page scene showing two people conversing in a meadow by a stream; BnF Ms. fr. 585 (made in the fifteenth century for Louis de Bruges) begins with an almost full-page size miniature presenting two lines of soldiers drawn up facing each other, lances at the ready, in the background a fortress and catapult. The "Robert Hoe" manuscript appears to straddle these two groups: it opens with the table of chapters for the entire work and yet its first miniature presents Christine and Minerva. With the caveat that this is a small number of manuscripts on which to base a

is subsumed by the relations between king and soldier just as, in the opening pages of the manuscript, the image of the queen is recast, in the genealogical figure, into "emblems of fertility painted in the margins."[18] Most recently, Nancy Bradley Warren has argued that Christine's treatise, which discusses problems that concerned the English monarchy in the fifteenth century—military training, the proper conduct of war, good government, and women's place in lineages—posed a threat to English nationhood and manhood.[19] This challenge elicited strategies of containment visible in the Shrewsbury Book's displacement of Christine's figure by Talbot's in the miniature that opens the *Fais d'armes.*[20] She finds that this substitution has even broader political implications than those noted by Bossy, for the treatise is cited later by William Worcester in his *Boke of Noblesse* (1475) to justify English claims to French territories.

I propose a reading suggested by the process of leafing through this enormous anthology. Rather than reading straight through the manuscript from beginning to end, as Bossy does, I look at the *Fais d'armes* as part of a constellation of three points in the manuscript associated by the program of decoration. Two aspects of the decoration naturally catch the eye: the density of miniatures in two of the romances, "Le livre de la conqueste du roy Alixandre," which opens the collection, and the "Noble livre du roy Pontus filz du roy Thibor," the seventh item in the anthology. (See the appendix to this essay listing the contents of the Shrewsbury Book.) The second aspect of the decoration is the similarity of the presentation miniature opening the volume (fol. 2v, Figure 3) and that marking the beginning of Christine's *Fais d'armes* (fol. 205r, figure 6). Thus, I will look at three points in the order of texts highlighted by the decoration: the beginning (*Alexandre*), the midpoint (*Pontus*) and the antepenultimate text (the *Fais d'armes*).

Only three of the texts in the manuscript have miniatures within the text, besides the text-initial miniature: *Alexandre* with 81 miniatures, *Pontus* with 35, and the *Renaut de Montauban* with 8. As the pages of this volume turn, the

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generalization, it seems that illuminated Group A manuscripts that were made before the Shrewsbury Book tend to open with a miniature presenting Christine and Minerva; BR Ms. 9009–11 does not, but it is later. Group B illuminated manuscripts, on the other hand, do not present Christine and Minerva, or indeed Christine at all. Thus it is possible that the compiler of our manuscript did indeed replace a Christine and Minerva miniature.

18. Bossy, "Arms and the Bride," p. 253.

19. Nancy Bradley Warren, *Women of God and Arms: Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380–1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), Chapter 3: "The Sword and the Cloister: Joan of Arc, Margaret of Anjou, and Christine de Pizan in England, 1445–1540," pp. 58–86 at 59. This chapter also appears as "French Women and English Men: Joan of Arc, Margaret of Anjou, and Christine de Pizan in England, 1445–1540," *Exemplaria* 16.2 (Fall 2004), pp. 405–36.

20. ". . . the manuscript suggests that *English* men—Henry VI and Talbot himself—are the legitimate recipients of power that passes through the hands of *French* women, who should graciously transmit, rather than wield as their own, that which they possess" (66). (The italics are Warren's.)

occurrence of these miniatures draws one's attention and encourages pauses. It is not coincidental that the Alexander romance is the lead text and that *Pontus* is at the centerpoint of the anthology (at the center as to the number of texts, seventh of 15, and central also as to the place in the number of folios, on fols. 207r–226v in a manuscript having 441 folios). The central location of *Le livre du roy Pontus* as well as its many miniatures make it easy for the reader to find.[21] The Alexander romance itself is often densely illustrated, and lead texts in anthologies are also often more highly decorated than the following texts.[22] In the manuscript tradition of *Pontus,* on the other hand, only three of the 28 extant manuscripts have miniatures. One of these is the Shrewsbury Book; the two others do not have anywhere near as many: 19 in one and 5 in the other.[23] Consequently, the rich illustration of *Pontus* in this manuscript is distinctive.

The penultimate text in the anthology, Christine's treatise on war does not have the heraldic shield in the center of the lower margin, or the herald holding aloft the banner in the right hand margin to integrate it into the decorative program that associates many of the texts in this collection (figure 6). In her essay in this volume (chapter 6), Anne D. Hedeman suggests that this may be because the *Fais d'armes,* together with Alain Chartier's *Bréviaire des nobles,* which does not have the herald or shield added either, may have been added as an afterthought.[24] However, both texts are introduced with a 2-column miniature and the one that heads Christine's treatise clearly echoes the presentation miniature that opens the volume (compare figures 3 and 6): in the lower right, Talbot kneels before the king (here)/the royal couple (in the dedication miniature), seated on a dais hung with the arms of England and surrounded by on-

21. In studying manuscript collections containing Christine's *Enseignements moraux,* I have found that certain codices highlight the center point with a series of short texts and a density of rubrics that catch the eye, making these texts easy to locate. See my article, "Les *Enseignements moraux* de Christine de Pizan dans l'ordre des textes d'un recueil pieux du XVe siècle (BnF, fr. 1181)," *Babel: Langages-Imaginaires-Civilisations* 16 (2007), pp. 293–308 at 299. If the manuscript is an anthology, a collection whose order has been planned, the midpoint in the order of texts may be a location of significance.

22. See D. J. A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1963), esp. pp. 54–55, where Ross presents the manuscripts that contain the redaction of the *Historia de Preliis* contained in the Shrewsbury Book. Ten illustrated manuscripts survive, in addition to four others where illustrations were planned but not executed. Ms. Royal 15.E.vi is one of six manuscripts that are fully illustrated, there being two others with abbreviated cycles of miniatures. These manuscripts date from the mid-fourteenth to the late fifteenth century (except for one thirteenth-century manuscript). Keith Busby discusses the earlier manuscript tradition of Alexander romances in "Alexander Romances," *Codex and Context* 1: 278–99, and in "'Codices manuscriptos nudos tenemus': Alexander and the New Codicology," in *The Medieval French Alexander,* ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 259–73.

23. See *Le Roman de Ponthus et Sidoine,* ed. Marie-Claude de Crécy, TLF (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. vii–xxix, for a description of the manuscripts, all of which date from the fifteenth century.

24. See chapter 6, p. 103. I discuss the pairing of the *Bréviaire des nobles* and the *Fais d'armes* below, pp. 164–70.

lookers (courtiers on the left, soldiers on the right in this miniature; courtiers on the left and ladies-in-waiting on the right in the dedication miniature). The king is handing him a sword, handle first, emblematic of the office of constable of France. The figure of the sitting king is so similar in both miniatures as to suggest that a pattern might have been used.[25] These two miniatures frame the anthology, a fact that argues against the inclusion of the *Fais d'armes* as an afterthought.

Cued by these visual aspects of the presentation of the texts, let us see what textual correspondences link Christine's treatise and these two romances, creating links across three texts—one at the end, one at the beginning, and one at the centerpoint.

A word first on the overall organization that scholars have hypothesized for this anthology. The collection's structure has been viewed through the lens of genre. Two groups of texts are usually distinguished: an initial series of chivalric romances (texts 3 to 9 in the appended table of contents) followed by a series of treatises on war and chivalry (texts 10 through 15).[26] (This generic grouping glosses over the fact that the *Chroniques de Normandie* occurs in the middle of the second group.)[27] These two series are not indicated in the general table of contents to the manuscript or otherwise by the manuscript rubrics.[28] My

25. My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman for making this suggestion.

26. This bipartite organization of the contents of the collection has been noted by various scholars, including André de Mandach, in "L'Anthologie chevaleresque de Marguerite d'Anjou (BM Royal 15 E VI) et les officines Saint-Augustin de Canterbury, Jean Wauquelin de Mons et David Aubert de Hesdin," in *Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes, Actes du VIe Congrès International (Aix-en-Provence, 29 août–4 septembre 1973),* ed. Jean Subrenat (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1974), pp. 317–50; and Bossy, "Arms and the Bride."

27. Both the *Livre de l'arbre des batailles* (text 10) and the *Livre de politique* (text 11) open with single-column miniatures and have borders only in the left-hand margin and half the top and bottom margins (see Appendix Two on hierarchy of decoration in Anne D. Hedeman's chapter 6, p. 119, in this volume). Ordinarily, this treatment suggests subordination to the preceding text but it is not evident how these two treatises are subunits of *L'Ystoire du chevalier au Signe* (text 9), which concludes the group of epic and romance texts. The *Roman d'Herault d'Ardennes,* the sequel of *Le livre de Guy de Warrewik,* is not an analogous case: although it opens with a single-column miniature, it begins on the verso of a folio, not on the recto as do the treatises of Honoré Bouvet and Giles of Rome. The program of decoration does not make clear the relationship between these two treatises and the surrounding material. For a possible interpretation, see Anne D. Hedeman's chapter 6, p. 100, in this volume.

28. The table of contents in the volume, contemporaneous with the manuscript, raises certain questions about the status of items in the order of texts because of inconsistencies between its rubric and the list of contents, and between the way in which it lists the contents and the ways in which the decorative program presents various of the texts.

The rubric that heads the table of contents reads: "En cest liure sont conprins xj. volumes / de liures ensemble la gennelogie du Roy / n[ost]re souurain seigneur henrj. par la / grace de dieu Roy de france et dangleterre. / le breuiaire des Nobles. et de lordre des cheva / liers de la garitiere des quelz ensuit la de / clarac[i]on p[ar] ordre:" There follows a list of the individual works. Each item is preceded by a numeral except for two: the genealogical table, which comes at the beginning, facing the dedication miniature and poem, and the statutes of the Order of the Garter, the last item. The list omits *Renaut de*

reading, directed by visual cues in the manuscript decoration, suggests another level of structural coherence that may be seen as supplementing rather than contradicting the genre-based organization.

The epic/romance group follows a basic chronological order that evokes the theme of *translatio imperii,* as Andrew Taylor also observes (chapter 7, p. 132) in this volume, moving from antiquity to the Carolingian period and then to the recent past—*Pontus* was composed in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century and features as characters knights who lived in Western France, perhaps in the entourage of Landry de la Tour.[29] The second movement of the anthology, the series of treatises plus the *Chroniques de Normandie,* does not present a clear ordering principle but the following associations link these texts. The *Arbre des batailles, Livre de politique* and the *Fais d'armes* are conduct guides for princes but are also addressed to lay people, notably, knights. The authors underscore their intention to speak in the vernacular in order to make their subject accessible to this audience. (This theme echoes the dedicatory poem that opens the volume, which offers the anthology, all of whose texts are in French, to help Margaret remember her native language.) Three of the authors, Honoré Bouvet, Alain Chartier, and Christine de Pizan, were roughly contemporaries, living from the end of the fourteenth into the third decade of the fifteenth century. The third and fourth books of Christine's treatise are presented as a dialogue with a wise Master, who invites her to pluck fruit from his *Tree of Battles;*[30] he is clearly Honoré Bouvet. So one may see Bouvet's and Christine's texts framing this series. These two broad groupings, the epics/romances and the treatises-plus-chronicle, are related in that the first series provides dramatized, narrative examples of the *chevalerie* described in more abstract terms in

Montaubain, which comes after *Ogier de dannemarche.* The "Liure de guy de Warrewik" title does not mention the sequel that immediately follows it, the *Romance of Herault d'Ardennes,* although the explicit at the end of this unit does include it: "Explicit le rommaunt de guy de warewik et de herolt dardenne" (fol. 272r). No rubric repeats the numbering within the body of the manuscript. The listing of works in this table of contents suggests that the genealogical figure is part of the front matter, together with the facing dedicatory poem that discusses it. The statutes of the Order of the Garter form an epilogue to the core sequence of texts.

The rubric mentions the *Bréviaire des nobles* but not the *Fais d'armes*. Yet within the table, both texts are numbered as separate items: "x. Le breuiaire des nobles" and "xj. Le liuvre compose darmes. de cheualerie. de [?] et noblesse" and both texts receive the same decorative treatment: 2-column introductory miniature, decorative border in all four margins, and 8-line-high text-initial capital. This evidence suggests not that the *Fais d'armes* was considered a subunit of the *Bréviaire* but instead that Alain Chartier's poem was so famous that it is touted by the rubric. For a brief discussion of the table of contents, see Outi Merisalo, "Un Codice Miscellaneo per Margherita d'Angiò (London, British Library, Royal 15.E.VI)," *Segno et testo; International journal of manuscripts and text transmission* 2 (2004), pp. 445–58. My thanks to Craig Taylor for calling this article to my attention.

29. See de Crécy, ed., *Ponthus et Sidoine,* pp. xcviii–cii.

30. See part III, opening of chapter 1 (fol. .cccclxxj): ". . . est bon que tu ceu- / les sur larbre des batailles qui est en mon iar- / din aucuns fruis. Et que diceulz tu vses / . . . ."

the treatises. Christine's text frames both the second series and, thanks to the two parallel miniatures, the anthology as a whole.

Her manual on warfare, which draws on materials from sources classical and contemporary, historical and legal, also incorporates information gleaned from conversations with contemporary military men.[31] In four books or parts, she discusses the concept of a just war, the exemplary conduct of war, techniques of laying siege to strongholds, and a whole series of pointed legal questions concerning relationships between military leaders and their men and between countries at war. Alerted by the focus on Talbot in the miniatures, the sections that drew my attention in the context of this anthology were her discussions of the *connétable* and in particular of a trait that distinguishes the great military leader—*engin*—a topic to which she dedicates all of part II. As the head of all the prince's military forces, the *connétable* must have experience and skill in the craft of waging war; he must also be endowed with the qualities of character essential to a model *chevalier*—he must be brave, just, magnanimous, loyal to his prince and to the Church, temperate, kindly to all, diligent. He must be articulate so that he can rally his troops to his purpose and inspire them to steadfastness and valiance. But he must have even more than this: he must be "soubtil," "pourveu et cault," "advisé." Thus the second part, which speaks of "cautelles d'armes," tricks or stratagems of war.

What does Christine mean exactly by *engin* and *cautelle*? The *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (*DMF*) 2009 gives a range of meanings for *engin,* including "intelligence" or "ability to reason"; "talent" or "skill"; "inborn character"; "ingeniousness" or "cleverness"; "ruse," "artifice."[32] For the adjective *caut* we

31. For Christine's use of classical and modern sources in her treatise, see Charity Cannon Willard, "Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare," in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference,* ed. Marilynn Desmond, Medieval Cultures 14 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 3–15; and "Christine de Pizan on Chivalry," in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches,* ed. Howell Chickering and Thomas H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, MI: Published for The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages by Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1988), pp. 511–28; and Everett L. Wheeler's excellent article, "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie:* Gender and the Prefaces," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 46 (2002), pp. 119–61.

32. *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (2009). Springing from the Latin *ingenium* "innate quality, talent," the meanings listed range from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Glossaries focused on Christine de Pizan's works reveal that the term *engin* most often means "wit, intellectual capacity" or "skill." Joël Blanchard and Michel Quereuil, *Lexique de Christine de Pizan; matériaux pour le Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF)-5* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1999): *engin:* "esprit, capacités intellectuelles"; *Le Débat sur le Roman de la rose,* ed. Eric Hicks, *Bibliothèque du XVe siècle* 43 (Paris: Champion, 1996), *Le Débat sur le* Roman de la Rose, trans. Virginie Greene, Traductions des classiques du moyen âge 76 (Paris: Champion, 2006): "intelligence, capacité de comprendre, esprit"; *Le Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V,* ed. S. Solente, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1936, 1939), *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Mœurs du roi Charles V le Sage,* trans. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris: Stock/Moyen Âge, 1997): "caractère, naturel" (as well as the preceding sense); *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune,* ed. Suzanne So-

find "prudent," "perspicacious"; "astute"; "wily"; and for the noun *cautele,* "precaution"; "stratagem."[33]

This particular section of the *Fais d'armes* proceeds by illustrative anecdotes drawn from the careers of famous military commanders, suggesting that *engin* and *caut/cautelle* are slippery notions best understood through examples rather than abstract definitions. Christine's examples reflect a range of meanings. *Engin* seems to mean a combination of quick-wittedness and sensitivity to the psychology of one's troops as when Scipio, falling down as he leaves his ship to lead his troops into Africa, has the presence of mind to tell his men that this is a lucky sign: "Heaven be praised, this is a good omen. I am seized by the African land. It is ours without a doubt."[34] *Engin* seems to be the willingness to use deceit, as when Hannibal has wine doctored with mandragora, then arranges a skirmish with the enemy and leaves his camp as though fleeing; the enemy takes over the camp and drinks the wine, falling into a drugged sleep, whereupon Hannibal returns to kill them all.[35] Thus *engin* seems to build on experience and skill but goes further: the truly great *connétable* will have imagination and the willingness to embrace unconventional means in order to achieve his goal. These "cautelles et subtilitez" do not conflict with the ideal of chivalry; they constitute "taking advantage of more than one way of waging war."[36]

The protagonist in the *Livre de la conqueste du roy Alixandre,* the first text in the Shrewsbury Book, clearly models the qualities that Christine lays out

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lente, SATF, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1959–66): "moyen, procédé, stratagème" or "instrument, outil"; *Le Livre de l'advision Cristine,* ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac, Études Christiniennes 4 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001): "esprit, intelligence"; *Le Livre du corps de policie,* ed. Angus J. Kennedy (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998): "habileté, adresse, intelligence." Stephen Perkinson discusses the meaning of *engin* in the context of late medieval visual art in "*Engin* and *artifice:* Describing Creative Agency at the Court of France, ca. 1400," *Gesta* 41.1 (2002), pp. 51–69. In this context, *engin* involves the power of memory and imagination that enabled the artist to create images, in contrast *to artifice,* which meant technical skill gained through training.

33. The *DMF* (2009) notes that *caut* comes from the Latin *cautus,* "prudent." The meanings listed range from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century. The glossaries focused on Christine's œuvre most often give "wily," "clever," "ruse or stratagem." *Lexique de Christine de Pizan:* caut: "rusé" (*Mutacion de Fortune*); cautele: "ruse, stratagème" (*Mutacion de Fortune*); cauteleux: "prudent, habile" (*Mutacion de Fortune*); cautement: "avec précaution, avec prudence" (*Livre de Paix*); *Epistre Othea, éd. critique par Gabriella Parussa,* TLF 517 (Geneva: Droz, 1999): cautelle: "astuce, stratagème"; *Livre du corps de policie:* caute(l)le: "ruse"; cautelleusement: "par ruse"; "Livre de la cité des dames of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition," ed. Maureen C. Curnow, 4 vols., PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1975: cautes: "avisé, rusé"; cautilleusement: "par ruse."

34. *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* Book II: Chapter vi, pp. 91–92. The text in Ms. Royal 15.E.vi, fol. cccc.lxiiij recto reads: "O dieu / soit loez veez cy bon signe Ja suys saisy de la / terre dauffrique elle est nostre sans faille. . . ."

35. *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* Book II: Chapter vi, pp. 86–87.

36. *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* Book II: Chapter i, p. 81. The Royal manuscript reads: ". . . les / vaillans conquerens du mo[n] / de es faiz darmes en leurs con / questes pource que yceulx se / sorent bien aydier de plus dune maniere de / guerroier. . . ." (fol. .cccc.lxix verso).

in her treatise. He is magnanimous, brave, just, loyal to his troops; and he inspires their extraordinary fidelity. He rallies his men at moments of crisis with eloquent speeches that quell grumbling and inspire feats of great courage.[37] Alexander is associated with ruse through his birth father, an enchanter who seduces queen Olympias and then bamboozles her husband, the king, into adopting the child by convincing him that a god fathered him (chapters 3 and 4). Alexander's aptitude for trickiness when the occasion requires it shows that he is his father's son. In an event recounted by Christine in her chapter on military stratagems, Alexander has his men drag tree branches to raise dust, thus giving his enemy the impression that his troops are more numerous than they really are.[38] Pretending that he wishes to reward the men who rid him of an enemy, he tricks the murderers of King Darius into identifying themselves and then has them executed (chapter 44). Demonstrating another sort of *engin,* he handles the conquered Persians astutely, allowing them to elect their own governor "pour mieulx acquerir l'amistié de ceulx du païs" "in order to inspire their friendship" (chapter 45).[39] A similar example about Alexander is given by Christine in her section on "cautelles et subtilitez" (II: viii). As the narrator comments after Alexander's death, "Mais le grant dieu, que tout bien veult, demonstre appartement qu'il estoit rempli de toutes bonnes taches que prince doit avoir en lui" (Otaka 224) ("God the almighty, who wishes only the good, clearly shows that he [Alexander] was endowed with all the virtues that a prince should have.") His cleverness and willingness to use deception when necessary are qualities that distinguish him as an exceptional military leader.

In the romance at the center point of the anthology, Pontus represents the Christian version of the model warrior prince. Indeed the prologue announces the didactic intent of this romance: this is "a noble tale from which one may learn much that is good and exemplary, for young people should listen to the feats and sayings of the wise ancients who had much virtue in their time."[40] Pontus shines with the traditional chivalric virtues—loyalty, courage, generosity, justice. He is chosen by Sidoine's elderly father to be *connétable,* a detail that links this romance to the *Fais d'armes* and to the figure of Talbot himself. What distinguishes Pontus from Alexander is his concern that war be just—a question discussed in the *Fais d'armes* (I:ii–v)—his affirmation of the goal of

37. For example, in chapters 29 and 46. See *Roman d'Alexandre en prose (British Library, Royal 15.E.VI, fol. 2v–24v),* ed. Yorio Otaka, Hideka Fukui, and Christine Ferlampin-Acher (Osaka: Centre de la Recherche Interculturelle à l'Université Otemae, 2003).

38. *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry,* Book II: Chapter vii, p. 93. Christine tells this story à propos Papirius Cursor, a Roman military hero.

39. I translate the text as edited by Otaka, Fukui, and Ferlampin-Acher.

40. The Royal manuscript reads: ". . . une noble / hystoire dont len pourroit assez / de bien et dexemplaire aprendre. / Car joennes gens doiuent oyr et / entendre les bons fais et dis des / anciens qui eurent moult de b[ie]ns / en leur temps. . . ." (fol. 207r).

peace founded on New Testament references, and his conviction that duty must underwrite power: "If God has given you great kingdoms and fiefs, it is not so that the powerful may make war on the weak, for in war the poor people of the countryside, and the Church, which you should protect and foster in peace, are killed and destroyed and there is such wrong done that any true Christian feels pity in hearing about it."[41]

Pontus is like Alexander, though, in his use of ruse and disguise. This is true from the beginning when he hides from invading Saracens by pretending to be a child being groomed to enter the king's service as a huntsman. Several times during the course of the romance, Pontus does not shrink from trickery in order to achieve his purpose. Twice his beloved Sidoine is threatened with a forced marriage and twice he assumes a disguise—once as a poor pilgrim and the second time as a merchant—in order to gain admission to the castle hall and obstruct the marriage.

At the end of the romance, Pontus passes on to his "germain," who will eventually assume the throne of England, a series of "enseignements" that will help him rule wisely and effectively: love God and honor the Church; honor your father and mother; be generous to your barons, knights and squires—to all those on whom you count; honor your wife; be compassionate to the poor: this is why you have seigneurial power.[42] Thus we find, within this romance, a miniature mirror for a prince that echos the treatises in the second movement of the anthology.

III. The *Bréviaire des nobles* and the *Fais d'armes*

Considering the place of Christine's treatise within the second group of texts (the treatises-plus-Chronicle of Normandy), it is clear that not only their juxtaposition in the order of texts but also their decoration closely associate the *Bréviaire des nobles* and the *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* (compare figures 1 and 6). The opening miniatures for both texts and the framing decorative borders were done by the Talbot Illuminators (see Appendices One and Two in Anne D. Hedeman's chapter 6).[43] Both texts have the same number of lines per page (74, compared, for example, to 69–77 lines/page in the *Chroniques de Normandie*).

41. Ms. Royal 15.E.vi reads: "Se Dieu vo[us] / a donné grans royaulmes et grans seigneuries, ce / nest pas pour guerroyer le fort le fieble. Car en guerre / le menu peuple du plat païs et leglise que vous les deuez / garder et nourrir en paix en est ocis et destruit. et fait / tant de maulx que cest grant pitié a tous vray [crest]ien / à oyr" (fol. 264v) (de Crécy ed., p. 99). The translation of the Royal text is mine.

42. Crécy, ed., pp. 179–82; Ms. Royal 15.E.vi, fols. 225v–226r.

43. Anne D. Hedeman believes that in the case of each text-initial presentation, the group of artists that did the miniatures also added the decorative borders. See Appendix One, chapter 6.

Works by Alain Chartier, and especially his *Bréviaire des nobles,* occur in five fifteenth-century manuscripts also containing works by Christine de Pizan: the *Enseignements moraux* (in 3), the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (in 2), and the *Epistre Othea* (in one).[44] In three of these manuscripts the *Bréviaire* is grouped with Christine's work. Thus the manuscript tradition indicates a connection between these two poets.

As is the case with the other texts in the volume, both the *Bréviaire* and the *Fais d'armes* constitute individual codicological units. The contemporaneous table of contents to the volume lists each as a separate item.[45] The herald or the shield has been added to neither in the margins, nor is there any visual evidence that these were planned—they lack the hillocks as on the first page of *Ogier de Dannemark,* the *Chevalier au cygne,* and the *Chroniques de Normandie,* or sketched lines as on the *Chroniques de Normandie*'s opening page.[46]

Catherine Reynolds suggests that the texts in the manuscript that do not bear, or were not intended to bear, Margaret of Anjou's coat of arms, were less likely to satisfy the anthology's objective of entertaining and instructing the new queen and that these "'masculine' texts" had been prepared for Talbot himself and were incorporated into the Shrewsbury anthology.[47] Though she excepts the

44. Berne, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 205: *Ditié* fols. 62r–68v, *Bréviaire* fols. 216r–222v; Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 390: *La Belle dame sans mercy* fols. 38r–55r, *L'Excusacion aux dames* fols. 55v–60r, *Le Debat de reveille matin* fols. 73r–80r, [fol. 60v blank], *Ditié* fols. 81r–88v; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 249: *Bréviaire* fols. 10r–14v, *Lay de paix* fols. 15r–16v, 2 rondeaux fol. 18b, *Enseignements moraux* fols. 39r–50r; Rodez, Bibliothèque municipale Ms. 57: *Le lay de paix* fols. 100r–105r, *Bréviaire* fols. 110r–118v, *Enseignements moraux* fols. 119r–127r; Stockholm, Royal Library Ms. V. U. 22: Ballade fol. 3r, *Othea* fols. 101r–112v, *Bréviaire* fols. 113r–119v, *Lay de paix* fols. 120r–123bisv, *La Belle dame sans mercy* fols. 124r–136r, Rondeau fol. 141bisv, *Quadrilogue invectif* fols. 253r–272v, *Enseignements moraux* fols. 249r–251v. James Laidlaw writes that the ten leaves missing at the beginning of the Carpentras manuscript may well have contained the *Bréviaire. The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier,* ed. James C. Laidlaw (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 120n2.

45. Title-catchwords link the *Chroniques de Normandie* to the *Bréviaire des nobles,* and the *Fais d'armes* to the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. There are none linking the *Bréviaire* to the *Fais d'armes.* Nonetheless, the *Bréviaire* consists of a distinct quire, and begins on a folio recto, unlike the *Herault d'Ardennes,* which begins on a folio verso and is presented as the sequel of *Guy de Warrewik.*

46. On the lack of a sketch for a herald in the marginal decoration for these two texts, see Anne D. Hedeman's chapter 6, p. 103.

47. Reynolds, "The Shrewsbury Book," pp. 109–16 at 111. Reynolds mentions Christine's apology in the preface to the *Fais d'armes* as evidence that the poet recognized that this subject matter was not suited to women. Everett L. Wheeler has shown that Christine's apology for writing about warfare is a topos in prefaces to military treatises and should not be taken as an expression of her awareness that she was overstepping the bounds of subject matter appropriate for a woman. He points out that her justification to write on military topics in her biography of Charles V (1404) is quite brief; in her preface to the *Livre de corps de policie* (1407) she does not defend herself at all. "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie,*" p. 143.

Reynolds observes (111) that the *Fais d'armes* was not included in the manuscript of collected works that Christine presented to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria (BL Harley Ms. 4431) and concludes that this was a sign that it was not considered a work suitable for the queen. However, the Harley manuscript, running to 398 fols. and lavishly decorated, was quite as ambitious a project as the Shrewsbury Book.

Bréviaire, she finds that the *Fais d'armes* was not "particularly suitable" for this the young queen. However, women, particularly noblewomen, must have been keenly interested in the conduct of war. Their husbands, brothers, fathers, and uncles were wounded and died in battle. Ladies' attendance was an essential feature of jousts and tournaments. In her *Treasury of the City of Ladies* (*Livre des trois vertus*), Christine advises ladies to know about warfare in order to be able to command soldiers to protect their fortresses if need be. Ladies must have had detailed knowledge of and regard for the art of fighting, so they would have appreciated discussions of combat in epics, romances, or military treatises that might seem tedious to the modern reader.[48]

Except for the lack of the herald and shield, the decoration on the opening folio of both these texts reflects the elements that signal the beginning of new units: double-column miniature arched across the top, floral borders with acanthus leaves in each corner, eight-line high illuminated capital beginning the text. The case of the first two treatises in this section of the anthology, *Le livre de l'arbre des batailles* and *Le livre de politique* (Henri de Gauchi's translation of *De regimine principum*), is harder to parse in the hierarchy communicated by the program of decoraton in the manuscript. Both begin on the recto of a folio but open with a single-column miniature and feature borders only in the inner margins and halfway across the top and bottom margins. This array of the decoration suggests subordination. But in what way are these two treatises subordinated to the *Chevalier au Cygne,* which immediately precedes them, concluding the group of epics and romances? The question is particularly ticklish as regards the *Arbre des batailles,* which opens the second movement of the anthology. One would have expected a full new-text mise-en-page or even a more highly decorated presentation, similar to the treatment of the opening of the Alexander romance (fol. 5r). It is more likely that these two texts had already been copied for Talbot and were folded into the Shrewsbury anthology.[49] All that would have been added was the half border to integrate them into the "look" of the collection.

Commissioned in 1410 and completed in 1413, the anthology offered to the queen does not include other works clearly suited to Isabeau, among them the *Livre des trois vertus* and the *Corps de policie.* There may simply not have been time to include the *Fais d'armes.* Laidlaw explains his revised dating of Harley 4431 in "The Date of the Queen's MS (London, British Library Harley MS 4431," available at http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf (accessed April 15, 2010).

48. "[The lady] must know the laws of arms and all things pertaining to warfare, ever prepared to command her men if there is need of it. She has to know both assault and defense tactics to insure [*sic*] that her fortresses are well defended, if she has any expectation of attack or believes she must initiate military action." Christine de Pizan, *A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies,* trans. Charity Cannon Willard; ed. with an introduction by Madeleine Pelner Cosman (New York: Persea Books; Tenafly, NJ: Bard Hall Press, 1989), p. 169.

49. In his essay in this volume, chapter 7, pp. 122–23, Andrew Taylor discusses the possibility that the Shrewsbury Book was based on a collection of texts originally made for Talbot.

Returning to the status of the *Bréviaire* and the *Fais d'armes,* whatever the reason for their decoration—and haste is probably as good a reason as any for the lack of herald and shield in the margins of these two works—the strong similarity of the mise-en-page for these two works invites us to read them as a pair, coming at the end of the anthology just before the epilogue formed by the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. The *Bréviaire* is a series of thirteen ballades, each in a different metrical form, presenting the twelve virtues that make up true nobility. Noblesse speaks the first ballade: in order to remedy the disregard for her among those who claim to be noble without practicing true nobility, she invites us to understand what nobility really is by reading this breviairy ("Doncques qui veult estre nobles parfaiz Ses heures die en cestui Bréviaire," fol. 403r). There follow twelve ballades, in which the virtues identify themselves and explain their importance to nobility of character: Faith, Loyalty, Honor, Rectitude, Prowess, Love, Courtoisie, Diligence, Purity, Generosity, Sobriety, and Perseverance.

The miniature introducing this work shows Nobility and her virtues in a circle, open at the front (see figure 10). They are standing in a flowering meadow, each speaking a banderolle with the name of a virtue on it. The female virtues wear elegant headdresses and highwaisted dresses; one of these (Sobriety) is a nun.[50] Two of the figures are male. One is Honor, following the grammatical gender of the noun. The other, however, should have been female, for Amour, often feminine in Middle French, is feminine in the first line of this virtue's ballade: "Digne chose est bonne amour sans amer."[51] In the miniature, the virtues have been arrayed so that this figure stands in the lower left corner, half turned toward Noblesse.[52] He wears the pleated doublet and hose, pointy-toed ankle-high boots, and close-fitting cap that we see on some of the male figures in the dedication miniature. He could be meant to echo the Talbot figure in the miniatures that open the volume and introduce the *Fais d'armes.* Although in these scenes the earl is wearing longer, more elaborate ceremonial robes, his position off to the side and his attitude in profile, head titled upward, is quite similar. In a period during which the long houppelande, such as that worn by

50. The costumes are characteristic of northwestern Europe in the mid-fifteenth century. See Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress & Fashion* (London: The British Library, 2007), plate 89, p. 146. My thanks to Anne D. Hedeman and Paula Mae Carns for providing information about medieval costume in these miniatures.

51. Bossy misses the fact that Amour, feminine in this text, should have been represented by a female figure: ". . . only Honneur is masculine, for grammatical reasons. . . ." (249). The *DMF* (2009) shows that *amour* may be either masculine or feminine in Middle French.

52. The array of the allegorical figures is not simply clockwise or counterclockwise; it seems to have been devised so as to locate Amour in the lower left-hand corner. Noblesse stands at twelve o'clock. To her right (11 o'clock back to 7 o'clock) stand Foy, Loyauté, Honneur, Droitture, Proesse, and Amour. Then to her left (1 o'clock forward to 5 o'clock) stand Courtoisie, Diligence, Necteté, Largesse, Sobresce, and Perseverance.

Honor, was becoming increasingly frequent, the short pourpoint was associated with vigorous youth and men at arms.[53]

In this manuscript, the series of ballades is concluded with a rondeau, itself perhaps an echo of the rondeau-like device of Talbot in the lower margin of fol. 2v. The refrain calls upon the reader to take the message of the virtues to heart:

Voz matines recordez
Nobles ho[m]mes en ce liure
Quant vous seres descordez
Voz matines recordez
Voz fais ensemble accordez
Se noblement voulez viure
Voz matines recordez
Nobles hommes e[n] ce liure

[Remember/rehearse your matins,
Noble men, in this book.
When you are disheartened,
Remember/rehearse your matins.
Harmonize your actions
If you wish to live nobly.
Remember/rehearse your matins,
Noble men, in this book.][54]

The reader is to remember "in this book" the moral code as vital to him as the earliest morning prayers are to a Christian. In this context, the book evokes both the *Bréviaire* and the entire anthology. The challenge to match deeds to ideals (lines 5–6) links forward to the *Fais d'armes,* which complements the *Bréviaire*'s expression of chivalry's lofty ideals with a focus on their practical implementation. The description in the treatise (I:vii) of the high moral character necessary in the *connétable* repeats many of these virtues and thus harks back to Chartier's ballade sequence.

The title, *Le Bréviaire des nobles,* suggests an analogy with the Christian Breviary: it is an abridgment presenting the core ideals of nobility, as the Breviary was the distillation of the essential prayers and psalms for the devout Christian.[55] There are twelve ballades, suggesting readings that would punctuate the entire day, eight during the day and four during the night. The method of

53. See Odile Blanc, *Parades et parures: l'invention du corps de mode à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1997), pp. 210–11.

54. The translation is mine.

55. Craig Taylor shares this observation in chapter 8, p. 137, in this volume.

reading required by this text is entirely different from that employed in reading the other works in the collection. The epics and romances are plot driven, and quite long so that their reading would have had to be broken up into episodes or chapters read over a period of days or weeks. The treatises might not have been read straight through, from beginning to end, but have been dipped into depending on interest, the rubrics aiding the reader to locate the precise passage sought. The *Bréviaire,* in contrast, presents short lyric forms that are to be absorbed in a meditative way. The poetic form would be an aid to understanding, the refrains underscoring key ideas. The form would also have helped the reader commit the poems to memory, hence the double meaning of the key term, "recordez," which means both "repeat/rehearse" and "commemorate." The moral code affirmed in the *Bréviaire,* consulted and recited throughout the day, would penetrate the reader's memory and inhabit his (or her) heart. It is interesting that it precedes the *Fais d'armes* rather than following it. The order of texts incorporates in the *Bréviaire des nobles* a meditative pause, perhaps inviting reflection on the enactment of various of Noblesse's virtues in the romances, or their description in the treatises. The order of texts, set forth in the manuscript's table of contents, returns the reader to the next work, Christine's treatise, and the focus on the proper conduct of war.

In his chapter 8 in this volume (pp. 134–50), Craig Taylor underscores how unusual it was to have included the *Fais d'armes* in this collection rather than Vegetius's immensely popular *Epitoma rei militaris,* which was available in at least three French translations at the time. What then are the reasons why Christine de Pizan's *Fais d'armes* might have been included in this anthology? Her text contributes symmetry to the order of texts. On a textual level, her treatise engages with that of Honoré Bouvet's, which opens this section of the anthology, thus framing the group of treatises. Her treatise might have been considered as a stand-in for Vegetius's text, on which Christine drew substantially for her compilaton. Indeed, entries in inventories and titles of early printed editions of her work attribute it to Vegetius.[56] The *Fais d'armes* may well have been selected because of the cachet that her works bore in Burgundian and also English circles. During her lifetime, she sent copies of her works to the Earl of Salisbury in thanks for taking her son into his household. Later, she apparently sent more works to persuade Henry IV to send her son

56. See Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome*'s De Regimine Principum: *Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, ca. 1275-ca. 1525* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press), pp. 45 and 65. See also Gianni Mombello, "Christine de Pizan and the House of Savoy," p. 194; Wheeler, "Christine de Pizan's *Livre des Fais d'armes et de chevalerie,*" pp. 123–25; and T. E. Wareham, "Christine de Pisan's *Livre des Faits d'armes et de chevalerie* and Its Fate in the Sixteenth Century," in *Seconda Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul quattrocento francese,* ed. Jonathan Beck and Gianni Mombello (Chambéry-Torino: Centre d'Études Franco-Italien, 1981), pp. 137–42.

back to France.[57] Manuscripts from this period in the English royal library contain her collected works (1 = Harley 4431), the *Cité des dames* (1), the *Livre des trois vertus* (1), the *Epistre Othea* (2), and the *Fais d'armes* (3, one of which is Ms. Royal 15.E.vi).[58] This evidence indicates that her work already enjoyed an established readership among the high nobility in England in the first part of the fifteenth century.

57. Looking back on this period of her life, Christine refers to the books of hers that Henry IV confiscated when Salisbury was executed: "Le roy Henri, qui encores est, qui s'atribua la couronne, vid desditz livres et dictiez que j'avoie ja plusieurs envoiez, comme desireuse de lui [i.e., Salisbury] faire plaisir, audit conte" (112). He sent his herald to Paris to convince Christine to come to England but she temporized, pretending that she would come if Henry sent her son to accompany her on the trip she never did take: "Et a breif parler, tant fis a grant peine et per le moien de mes livres que congié ot mon dit filz de me venir querir par de ça pour mener la, qui encore n'y vois" (113). *Le Livre de l'advision Cristine,* ed. Christine Reno and Liliane Dulac. James Laidlaw speculates that Christine might have sent Salisbury either the *Epistre au dieu d'amour* (1399) or the *Livre des Trois Jugemens* (undated, possibly 1399) and sent Henry IV the *Epistre Othea* (1400–1401). "Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV," *French Studies* 36.2 (April 1982), pp. 129–43.

58. Working from the manuscripts that P. G. C. Campbell lists, "Christine de Pisan en Angleterre," *Revue de littérature comparée* 5 (1925), pp. 659–70 at 663–64, I exclude those that postdate Ms. Royal 15.E.vi:

IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY:		
Collected works	Harley 4431	1414
Epistre Othea	Harley 219	first ½ fifteenth c.
Cité des dames	Royal 19.A.xix	may have belonged to Richard, 3rd Duke of York (d. 1460)
Fais d'armes	Harley 4605	1434
Fais d'armes	Royal 15.E.vi	1445–47
Fais d'armes	Royal 19.B.xviii	mid-fifteenth c.
AT BODLEIAN, OXFORD:		
Epistre Othea	Laud 570	1450
Livre des 3 vertus	M. Fr. D 5	mid-fifteenth c.

The dates of these manuscripts are provided as follows: for Harley 4431: James Laidlaw, "The Date of the Queen's MS (London, Brit. Libr. Harley MS 4431," available at http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/harley4431date.pdf (accessed April 15, 2010); for the *Cité* ms: from Maureen Cheney Curnow, "Le Livre de la Cité des dames of Christine de Pisan: A Critical Edition," PhD diss., Vanderbilt University, 1975, 2: 520; for the *Epistre Othea:* Gianni Mombello, *La tradizione manoscritta dell' "Epistre Othea" di Christine de Pizan. Prologomeni all'edizione del testo* (Torino: Accademia delle Scienze, 1967), pp. 354–57; for the *Livre des trois vertus: Le Livre des trois vertus,* ed. critique Charity Cannon Willard, Bibliothèque du XVe Siècle 50 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1989), pp. xx–xxi.

Campbell notes (664) that while almost all of these manuscripts were made on the Continent, Mss. Harley 219 and Royal 19.B.xviii were copied in England, judging from various spellings, and Harley 4605 was executed in England but by a Gascon scribe (based on the colophon).

IV. Epilogue: *L'ordre de la jarretiere*

The final text in the anthology, unnumbered in the table of contents, does not offer a description of chivalry. The *Bréviaire des nobles* (text 13) may be seen to play this role. The focus of the Statutes of the Order of the Garter is on the ceremony that brings together the twenty-six companion-knights once a year in the spring. Much is said about details of costume, when the Garter cloaks are to be put on and taken off; the processions, masses, and banquets. These details provide a vivid picture of the high pomp staged in order to honor chivalry. The other element of the statutes that is particularly striking is the effort to link this company with the Church through masses, which constitute an essential part of the annual meeting; with the poor through the funding of membership for twenty-six poor knights; with the dead companion-knights through the requiem masses that close each annual meeting. The statutes require that a register be kept of the decisions taken at each meeting, constituting a record from year to year, a concern to establish a continuous link between past and future generations of companion-knights.

The pair of presentation miniatures, the one at the head of the dedicatory verses that open the volume, the other at the head of Christine's *Fais d'armes,* clearly frame the volume (see figures 3 and 6). Much has been made of the erasure of Christine from the miniature that marks the beginning of her treatise. Typically, early manuscripts contain miniatures presenting Christine at her writing desk facing the goddess Minerva outfitted in the armor that she invented.[59] But Royal 15.E.vi preserves—where other later manuscripts generally do not—the prologue in which Christine justifies a woman writer's discussing the proper conduct of war. I do not take her absence from this miniature as an erasure. The compiler might simply have wished to appropriate this space for another purpose. Both the dedication miniature and the *Fais d'armes* miniature portray the presentation of a gift: Talbot offers the manuscript to the queen; the king gives the sword representing the office of marshal or *connétable* to Talbot. A reciprocity is suggested between these gifts, between the book and the sword.[60] The order of these two scenes in the manuscript is in reverse chronology: the manuscript was presented in 1445; the office of marshal was conferred in 1436, almost ten years earlier.[61] 1445 marks the end of Talbot's service in France (from

59. I previously reviewed the opening miniatures in the manuscript tradition of the *Fais d'armes,* p. 156n17.

60. Bossy refers to exchange and barter (253) but I prefer to see in the relation between the king and Talbot reciprocity, the effort to respond in like measure to a magnanimous grant, a lofty conception of this relationship presented by many of the texts in the anthology, the *Fais d'armes* among them.

61. Bossy misunderstands the chronology and thus the meaning of the acts of giving portrayed in these two miniatures: ". . . .in return for his initial gift of a book to the queen, the kneeling Talbot now obtains a sword of office from the king" (251).

here he goes on to fight in Ireland). So this pair of miniatures marks first the end and then the beginning of his career as marshal of France. Talbot's kneeling figure is the focus of both miniatures: both gifts are emblems of service. Service—both the performance of service and the invitation to serve—is itself a gift: the loyal *chevalier's* unstinting service of his king and the king's recognition, which is at once reward and demand for even greater responsibility. The book that Talbot hands the queen is a *livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie:* what he is offering between the red covers of the manuscript is in a sense himself—his ideals, his service, his achievements.

APPENDIX 1

Contemporaneous Table of Contents of London, BL, Ms. Royal 15 E. vi

NUMBER in MS. TABLE		
[1.]	fol. 2v Dedicatory verses	
[2.]	fol. 3r Genealogical table of descendants of St. Louis	
[3.]	fol. 4v 'Le liure de la conqueste du roy Alixandre'	i
[4.]	fol. 43r 'Le liure du roy Charlemaine' 3 chansons de geste called here the 1st, 2nd, and 4th [*sic*] books of Charlemagne: Simon de Pouille, Aspremont, Fierabras	ii
[5.]	fol. 86r 'Le liure de Oger de Dannemarche'	iii
[6.]	fol. 155r 'Le liure de Regn[ault] de Mo[n]taubain'	omitted in ms. table
[7.]	fol. 207r 'Ung noble liure du roy Pontus filz du roy Thibor'	iiii
[8.]	fol. 266v 'Le liure de Guy de Warrewik' and its sequel 'Herolt d'Ardenne'	v
[9.]	fol. 273r 'L'ystoire du cheualier au Signe'	vi
[10.]	fol. 293r 'Le liure de l'arbre de batailes'	vii
[11.]	fol. 327r 'Le liure de politique'	viii
[12.]	fol. 363r 'Le cronicles de Normandie'	jx
[13.]	fol. 403r 'Le breviaire des nobles'	x
[14.]	fol. 405r 'Le liure des fais d'armes et de cheualerie'	xj
[15.]	fol. 439r 'Lordre de la jarretiere'	

APPENDIX 2

The Manuscript Tradition of the *Fais d'armes*

MANUSCRIPT	MATERIAL	SIZE	NO. OF FOLIOS	DECORATION	CONTENTS	RUBRICS	DATE	PROVENANCE	GROUP
1. Bordeaux, Bibl. mun. 815	Paper	290 × 205	173	?	Fais d'armes; Croniques des roys de France	Christine	15th. c	"Ex libris Carmelitarum discalceatorum Sancti Ludovici"	B
2. BR 9009–9011	Parchment	435 × 317	236	4 miniatures; borders	Arbre des batailles; Fais d'armes; Ordonnance sur le duel judiciaire of Philippe le Bel		ca. 1465	Mons, Jaquemart Pilavaine and his workshop; Philippe de Croÿ; his son Charles; 1511 Margaret of Austria	A
3. BR 10205	Parchment	315/320 × 227/230	ii + 160	Flowered initials, champied initials, red-touched initials, pen flourishes	Fais d'armes	No	Before 1430	Librairie de Bourgogne (inv. 1467–69)	B
4. BR 10476	Parchment	288/295 × ca. 210	134	½-pg. miniature, illum. capitals; Master of City of Ladies workshop	Fais d'armes		1410–15	Paris; X hand = Christine de Pizan; Librairie de Bourgogne (inv. 1467–69)	A
5. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. Add. No. 48 CFM 21	Paper	290 × 200	108 [22 blank]	Pen-and-ink drawings	Fais d'armes		2nd ½ 15th c.	Ashburnham Barrois 378; Sotheby's June 1901; gift C. Fairfax Murray 1904	A

6. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard Univ. Houghton Libr. 168	Paper	270 × 190	254	?	Fais d'armes		Late 15th c.	France; Comte Pierre Louis Roederer; Baron Gaspard Gourgaud (1838); Adriana R. Salem; deposited Mr. & Mrs. Ward M. Canaday 1955	B
7. St. Petersburg, formerly Imperial Libr. St. Petersburg F.II.96	Paper	"In-folio"	82	"pas de miniature" "incomplet au début"	Fais d'armes		1425	Collection Zaluski	?
8. BL Harley 4605	Vellum	309 × 203	116	Red rubrics, initial caps., in gold on blue, white, purple; 4 miniatures	Fais d'armes		1434	Written by French scribe (see C. Taylor essay, n20) Bungundian monastery 1718	A
9. BL Royal 15 E.vi	Parchment	470 × 330	442	(see Hedeman, Appendix One, chapter 6)	(see Appendix One above)		1445–47	Rouen; John Talbot, Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England	A
10. BL Royal 19 B.xviii	Vellum	311 × 228	99	Illum. caps. of English work; border prolongations; initials flourished in red, blue; red/blue	Fais d'armes	"Christyne de Pyse"	Mid-15th c.	Cat. of 1666	A
11. Oxford, Bodley 824	Paper	284 × 212	141 (Byles: 143 incl. 4 blanks)	Red ch. headings & initial caps	Fais d'armes	No	Late 15th c.	John Starkey (16th c.), Dennis Edwards (17th c.)	B

continued

MANUSCRIPT	MATERIAL	SIZE	NO. OF FOLIOS	DECORATION	CONTENTS	RUBRICS	DATE	PROVENANCE	GROUP
12. BnF fr. 585	Vellum	315 × 225	123	Miniatures, red rubrics; red, gold, blue ¶ & initials	Fais d'armes	No	15th c.	Louis de Bruges; Rigault 652; Dupuy 648; Clément 7076	B
13. BnF fr. 603	Parchment	375 × 270	242	Miniatures; illum. caps., decorated borders, red running heads and rubrics	Fais d'armes; Mutacion de Fortune	Christine	1410–12?	Made in Paris in Christine's scriptorium; Bibl. du roi inv. 1622; Rigault 2nd cat., 345; Dupuy (1645), 361; Clément (1682), 7087	A
14. BnF fr. 1183	Paper	295 × 190	222	Red ¶ for ea. ch. heading, red initial for ea. ch.	Fais d'armes		15th c.	Anc. 7398.3; Baluze 505	A
15. BnF fr. 1241	Vellum	280 × 200	83 (Kennedy); 109 (Solente); 2 + 110 (Byles)	Vignette, illum. caps., red ch. headings, red and gold initial letters, many marginal borders	Fais d'armes	Christine	15th c.	Nicolas Le Febvre (d. 1612), tutor of Louis XIII; J.-A. Thou; Anc. 7434.2.2, Colbert 1876	A
16. BnF fr. 1242	Paper	290 × 200	166	?	Fais d'armes		15th c.	Clément 7435; Anc. Mazarin 402	B
17. BnF fr. 1243	Paper	280 × 200	134 (Solente 131)	Like BnF fr. 1242	Fais d'armes	No	15th c.	Anc. 7449.3.3; Colbert 1608	B
18. BnF fr. 23997	Paper	275 × 200	163 (Byles: 154 of which first 7 and last are modern)	Red rubrics, red/blue initials	Fais d'armes	No	15th c.	Gaignières 711	B

19. BnF Duchesne 65	—	—	191 (on 78–82)	—	Excerpts various works; treachery of English, qualities of constable	"par dame christine"	17th c.	"la plus grande partie de la main d'A. Duchesne"	A
20. Turin, Archivio di Stato J.b.II.15	Parchment	306 × 225	2 + 97	2 miniatures + space for 2 never added; decorated initials, caps., ¶s, red headings	Fais d'armes	Vegece	3rd ¼ of 15th c.	Flemish (Bruges?); Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy	B
21.—, Bibl. Reale, Raccolta di Saluzzo 17	Paper	280 × 200	ii + 242 + 2	3 miniatures traced in black ink and colored; 4th now lost	Fais d'armes		2nd ½ 15th c.	Franco-Flemish; Tremet, canon of treasury of Church of Troyes 1758; BN 7435–7087; Bel. Lett. No. 62; Bibl. Baluze No. 505; Cesare Saluzzo	B
22.—, Bibl. Reale, Raccolta di Saluzzo 328	—	—	—	—	Copy made from BnF fr. 607 and 1241; only first 3 pts. of Fais d'armes		19th c.	Saluzzo collection merged w/library of Duke of Genoa; purchased by Italian govt. 1952	A
23. Ms. in private collection in Basel	Paper	292 × ca. 215	335	Red, green caps., flourishes, rubrics	Buch von dem vechten und von der ritterschafft	Cristina	2nd ½ 15th c.	Berne; Jakob I. vom Stein (d. 1480) Herr zu Müsingen, noble Berne family; Steiger family in Berne (16th c.)	A
24. Ms. sold 1902 (Quaritch, no. 211)	Paper	Small folio	113		Fais d'armes		ca. 1470	Charles de Croÿ, comte de Chimay	?
25. Ms. for sale 1995 (Sourget Catalogue 12)	Parchment	282 × 185	136	4 miniatures, borders, 4 large decorated initials	Fais d'armes		1410–20?	François de La Touche; Robert Hoe III	B?

Figure 1: John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp presented by Saints George and Margaret to the Virgin and Child. *Book of Hours.* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 40-1950, fol. 7v. Photo courtesy Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library.

Figure 2: Cicero, Laelius, and Scipio. *Livre de vieillesse. Anthology* of the *Échevins* of Rouen. BnF Ms. fr. 126, fol. 153r. (Photo BnF)

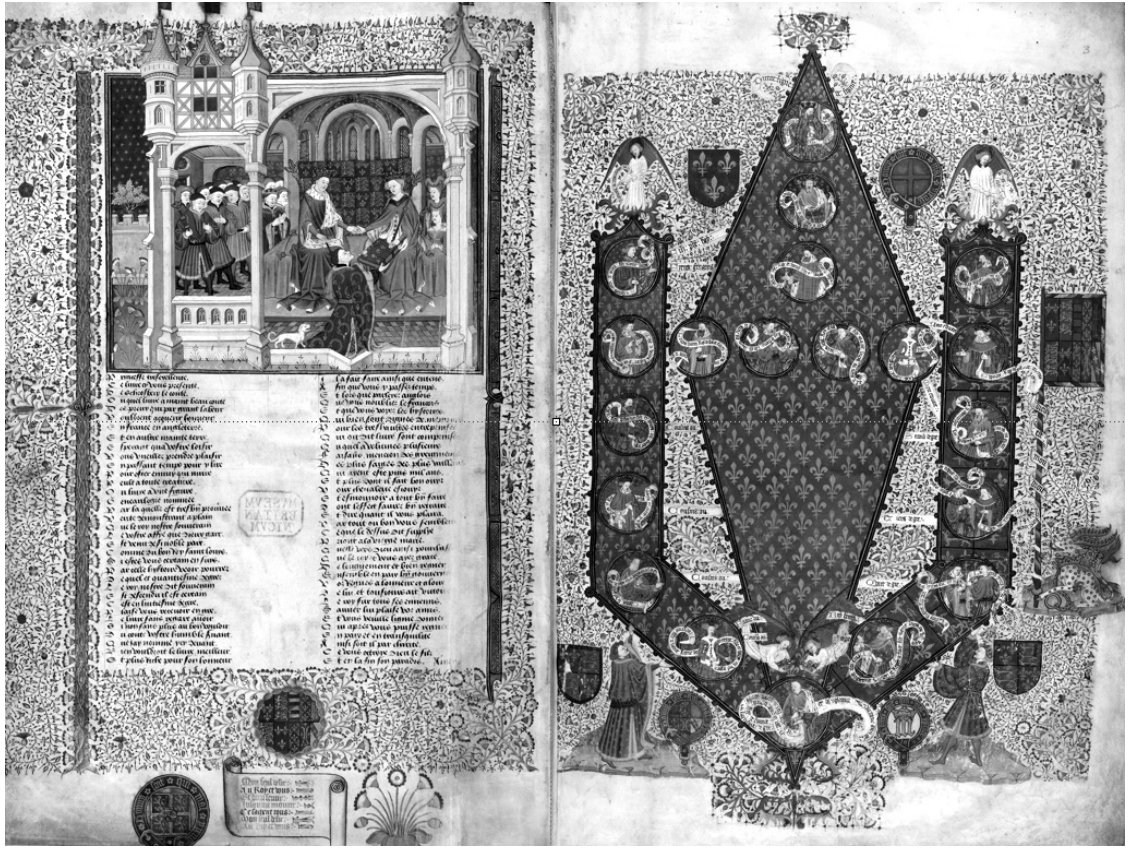

Figure 3: John Talbot presents the Shrewsbury Book to Marguerite d'Anjou; Genealogical tree. *Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fols. 2v–3r. © The British Library Board.

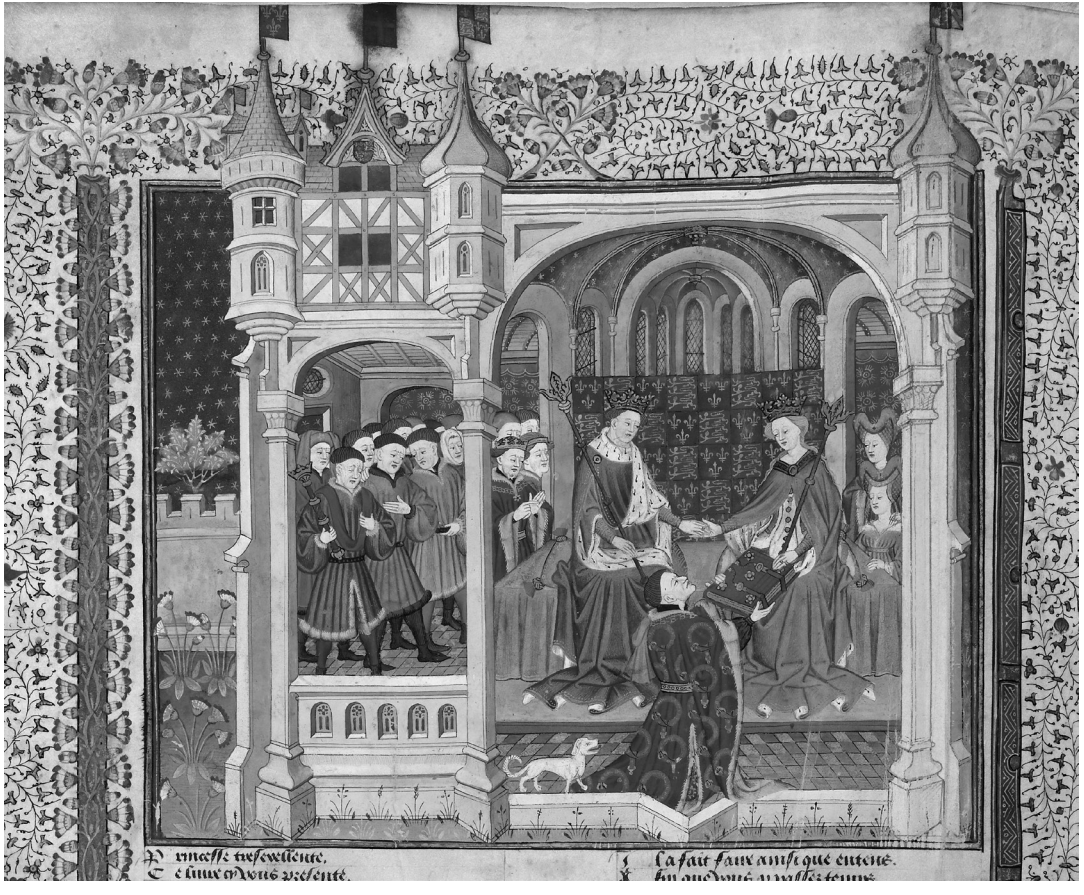

Figure 4: John Talbot presents the Shrewsbury Book to Marguerite d'Anjou. *Shrewsbury Book*. BL Royal 15 E. VI, fol. 2v. © The British Library Board.

Figure 5: Cicero teaching and the presentation of Laurent de Premierfait's translation of *De Amiticia* to Duke Louis of Bourbon. *Anthology* of the *Échevins* of Rouen. BnF Ms. fr. 126, fol. 153r. (Photo BnF)

Figure 6: Opening of the *Fais d'armes et de chevalerie.* King Henry VI invests John Talbot as Constable of France. *Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fol. 405r. © The British Library Board.

Figure 7: Heraldry in lower margin. *Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fol. 2v. © The British Library Board.

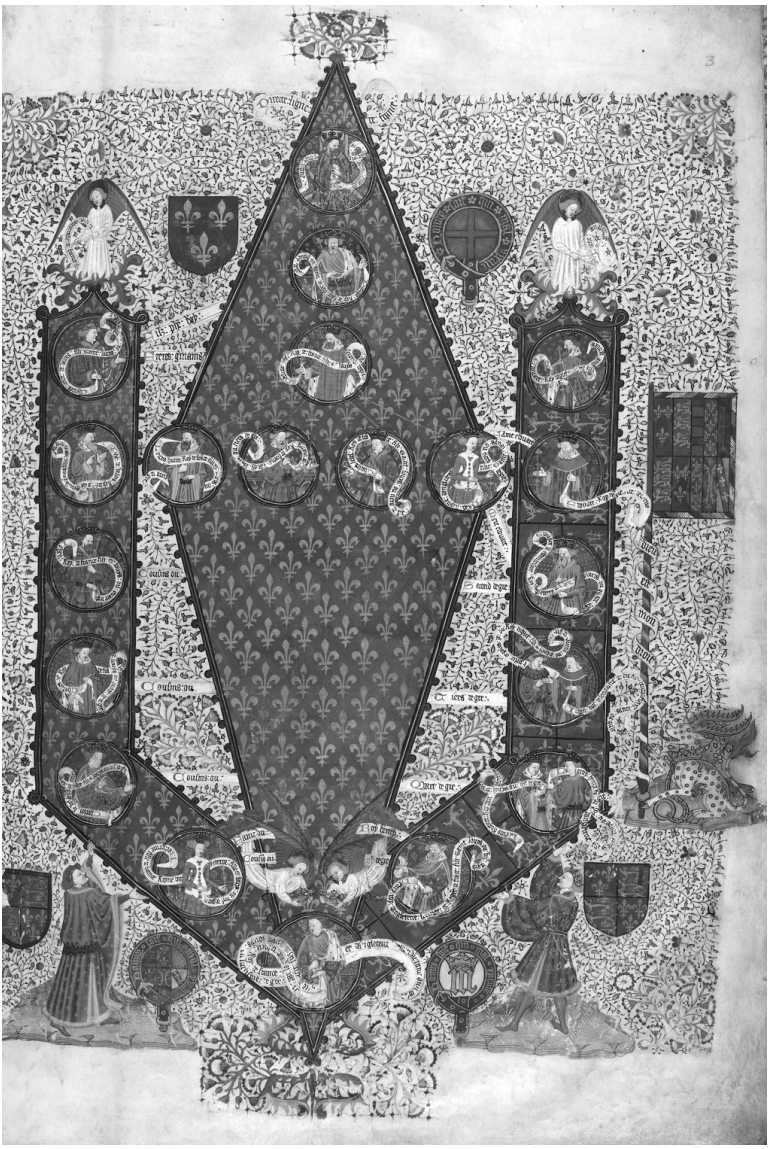

Figure 8: Genealogical Tree. *Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fol. 3r. © The British Library Board.

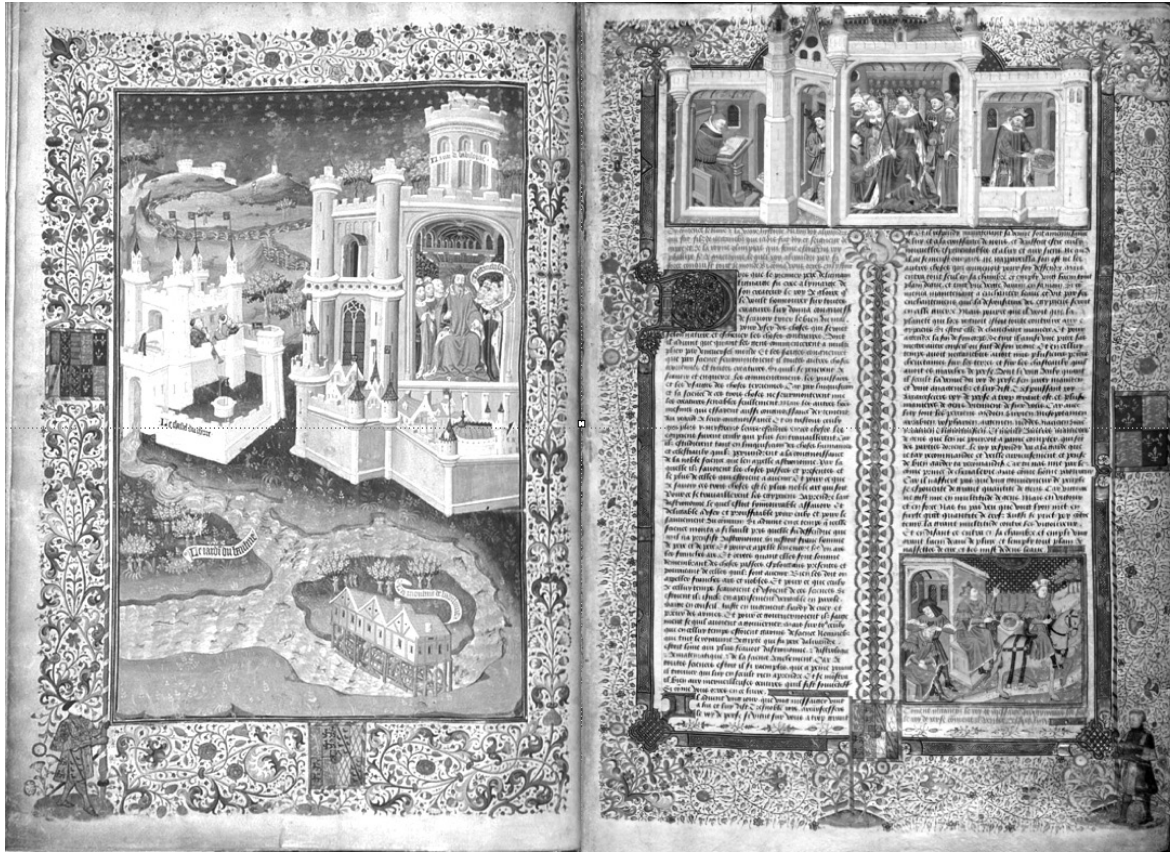

Figure 9: Opening of the *Roman d'Alexandre. Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fols. 5v–6r. © The British Library Board.

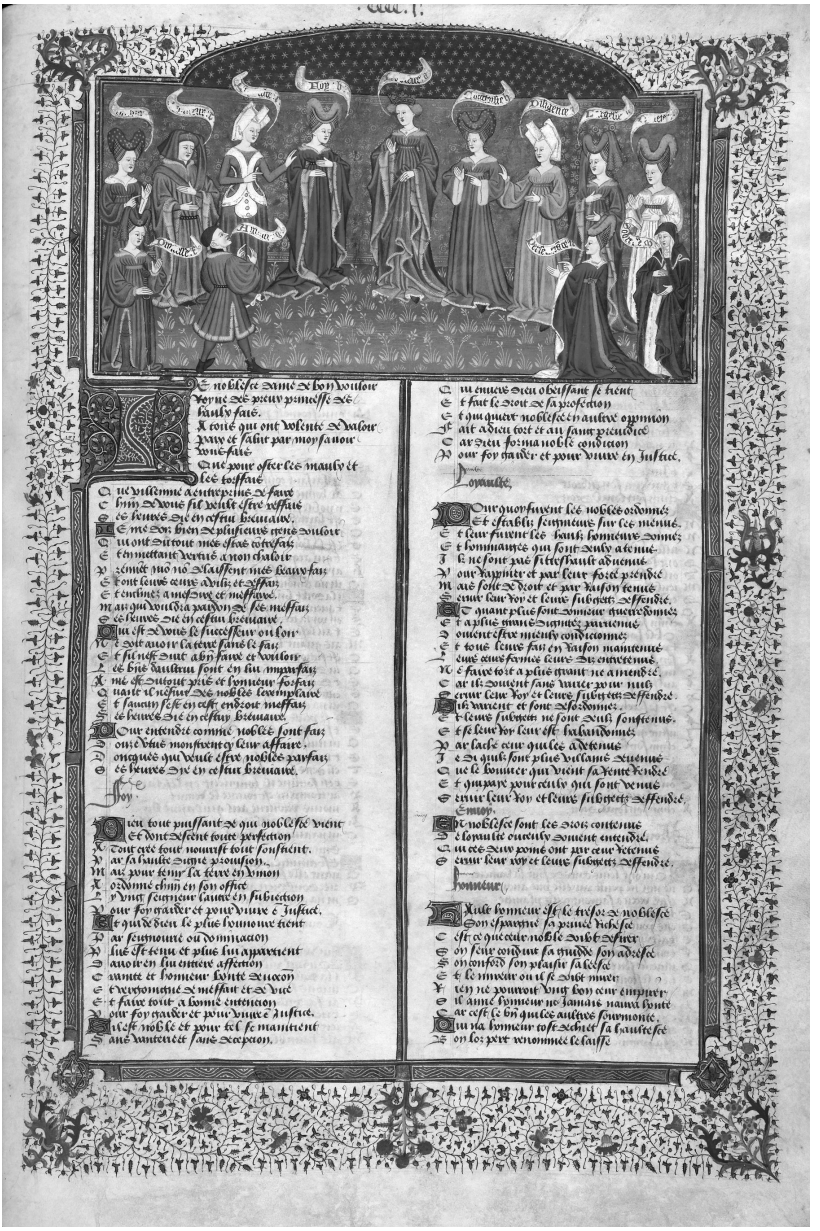

Figure 10: Opening of the *Bréviaire des nobles. Shrewsbury Book.* BL Royal 15 E. VI, fol. 403r. © The British Library Board.

III. Collections Building Community

CHAPTER 10

A *Livre d'Eracles* within the Library of the Fifteenth-Century Flemish Bibliophile, Louis de Bruges

Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 68 in Context

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The Flemish nobleman Louis de Bruges (born ca. 1427, died 1492) was lord of Gruuthuse, governor of Bruges, Oudenaarde, Holland, Zeeland, and West Frisia, and Earl of Winchester. In 1445 he entered the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good's household as *échanson* or cupbearer. A prominent and politically savvy diplomat, he negotiated with and befriended important rulers such as King Edward IV of England. One of the most significant bibliophiles of the fifteenth century, Louis's collection survives as 200 known volumes, most of which he actively added to his collection, rather than inheriting from ancestral libraries.[1]

1. After his death, Louis's collection was maintained in the royal library at Blois until it passed into the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, where at least 155 volumes remain today. There was no inventory of Louis de Bruges's collection made during his lifetime; in fact none of his household accounts is extant. Scholars have been working on compiling a list of his library since the nineteenth century using Louis's decorative ownership marks. For more on Louis de Bruges's collection, see the following sources: Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 355–69; Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux: Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges* (Paris: Bibliothèque national de France, 2009); Ursula Baurmeister and M. P. Laffitte, "La collection de Louis de Bruges," in *Des livres et des rois; La bibliothèque royale de Blois* (Paris: Quai Voltaire, 1992); M. P. Lafitte, "Les Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges, Chevalier de la Toison d'Or," in *Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454: L'Occident face au défi de l'Empire Ottoman,* ed. Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997), pp. 243–55; Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse: Mecenas en Europees Diplomaat ca. 1427–1492* (Brugge: Stichting Kunstboek,

Louis's collection contained many of the same types of manuscripts selected by contemporaries like voracious bibliophile Duke Philip the Good.[2] Louis owned bibles; books of hours; and didactic, philosophical, and theological treatises. He also owned romances, such as *Tristan and Yseult* (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 103, Rouen, third quarter of fifteenth century), and books relating to aristocratic entertainments such as tournaments and hunting, for instance, René of Anjou's *Livre de le Tournois* (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2692, Bruges, ca. 1488–89) in which the arms of Gruuthuse appear on the first set of jousters. A substantial portion, up to a fifth, of his collection was devoted to historical works, including classical history, chronicles of regions around Flanders and England, histories relating to the Order of the Golden Fleece, and histories of legendary Burgundian crusaders.

Previous scholars have approached understanding Louis de Bruge's bibliographic interests by categorizing his manuscripts into simple genres such as history or religion and enumerating examples of books within these genres, as I have above. However, this kind of investigation merely demonstrates the kinds of texts that were present while revealing little about their collector. Instead, if one breaks out of the strictures of genre and finds thematic approaches of understanding individual manuscripts in relationship to their collection then one is able to expose more of the collector's true interests. Thematic approaches to understanding multifaceted visual and literary collections are used even within this volume, for example, for Lord Gort's ivory casket. Paula Carns shows how a literary theme, love, can unite images drawn from different traditions, including classical history and Arthurian romance, to create a visual compilation of love throughout history. Nancy Freeman Regalado, on the other hand, demonstrates in this volume (chapter 2, pp. 30–63) that within the Bodleian, Ms. Douce 308 miscellany, repeating visual wing forms effectively unite the separate literary elements in which they appear, such as the *Vows of the Peacock,* the *Bestiary of Love,* and the *Tournament of Chauvency,* so that the manuscript collection provides a unified, idealized model of spiritual chivalry to its owners. One can approach understanding aspects of Louis de Bruge's collection and the individual books within it in a similar way. A fruitful case study is the *Livre d'Eracles* (hereafter

1992); Pascal Schandel and Ilona Hans Collas, Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges (Turnhout: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2009); Malcolm Vale, "An Anglo-Burgundian Nobleman and Art Patron: Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester," in *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages,* ed. Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995), pp. 115–32.

2. Philip the Good's collection was around 900 volumes. For further information on Philip the Good's library see: Wijsman, *Luxury Bound,* pp. 219–55; Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou, Librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris: Chez Treuttel et Würtz, Libraires, 1830); Patrick M. De Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe Le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985); Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, 1967).

Eracles, Paris, BnF ms. fr. 68), a crusade history. The historical, political, and social contexts of Louis de Bruge's life provide new lenses through which to view this book's relationship to his overall library. Specifically, Louis's historical participation as a Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece and in the court of Philip the Good creates for the scholar a thematic way to associate his *Eracles* with a number of manuscripts within his collection that one would not consider by simply comparing books within the same category.[3]

Louis de Bruge's *Eracles* was made in Flanders, most likely in Bruges in the mid-fifteenth century, and decorated with twenty-six miniatures painted by an unknown artist in a demi-grisaille style (figure 1).[4] The *Eracles* might be considered a collection of texts, as it is an amalgam of histories of the Crusades ending in the year 1231.[5] The core text is William, Archbishop of Tyre's Latin *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*), written between 1167 and 1184, but containing a compiled history of the crusades from their beginning. This text was translated into Old French and continued up to the year 1231 by an anonymous translator. It came to be known as the *Eracles,* because it begins with the story of the Emperor Heraclius

3. Another consideration when attempting to categorize sections of a medieval library is that modern conceptions of genre, such as history, literature, etc., are not necessarily suitable when applied to the Middle Ages because genre was more fluid at the time. For more on histories in the Burgundian court, see Elizabeth Johnson Moodey, "Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy (1419–1467)," PhD diss., Princeton University, 2002).

4. Scholars have been able to establish the patronage for this manuscript because Louis's emblem, the firing bombard, and what is left of his and his wife Marguerite van Borsele's initials, L-M, survive in the lower margins of the manuscript's first folio. Here, as in most of his collection, his arms have been covered by those of the French King Louis XII and his wife's initial 'M' has been changed to an 'A,' for Louis's wife Anne of Bretagne. These changes occurred when the manuscript entered Louis XII's collection just after Louis de Bruges's death in 1492. Louis's arms have also been removed and replaced with the French *fleur-de-lis,* another frequent occurrence in those books transferred to the royal library. Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369–1530* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 122; Jaroslav Folda, "The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre," 3 vols., PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1968, 1: 489–90, 515–6, 27n.

5. The French text of the *Eracles* is published in *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Eracles,* in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (abbreviated *RHC Occ.*), vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), pp. 1–481, and Paulin Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et Ses Continuateurs,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Cie., 1879). William of Tyre's original chronicle has been fully translated into English in William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea,* trans. Emily Atwater Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943). Extracts of the continuation text translated into English are published in Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1998). On the translation history of the *Eracles,* see Bernard Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an historical source," in *The Experience of Crusading, Volume Two: Defining the Crusader Kingdom,* ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 94–97; John H. Pryor, "The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," in *The Horns of Hattīn,* Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, ed. B. Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1992), p. 275.

who returned the True Cross to Jerusalem in 628. In fifteenth-century manuscripts like Louis de Bruge's, the history was further translated into contemporary Middle French.

Unique elements of a manuscript's decoration offer clues to the manuscript's relevance to its collector. Many of the forty-three surviving, illustrated *Eracles* manuscripts reuse common cycles of images, creating a tradition of illustration passed from copy to copy. A scene chosen for illustration that breaks away from tradition may reflect the particular interest of the patron. Louis de Bruges's *Eracles* manuscript includes four exceptional scenes that are nearly unique in the corpus, offering insight into his interest. These exceptional scenes reveal Louis de Bruges's narrative interests in Burgundian heroes. They contain a cycle of images related to Godefroy de Bouillon, his family and other Burgundian noblemen.[6]

The first illustration of this cycle represents a scene from the second book of the text (figure 2). In this image we see Coloman, King of Hungary, receiving Duke Godefroy de Bouillon's messengers. The image emphasizes Duke Godefroy's skills in negotiation and persuasion, portraying the moment that Godefroy initiated contact and, through the message the envoy brought to the king, bravely sought safe passage through the country and the reasons for the King of Hungary's ill treatment of previous pilgrims and crusaders.[7] In his message and his outreach to the king, he is stalwart in his protection of his troops and in his dedication to his mission, and through this moment of contact he is able to win a meeting with the king and safe passage for the host.

This episode is pictured in only three other *Eracles* manuscripts, two early manuscripts, Paris, BnF ms. fr. 2825 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), ms. fr. 22496 (fourteenth century), and one, like Louis's, also from the fifteenth century, ms. fr. 2629.[8] In this other fifteenth-century manuscript, BnF ms. fr.

6. Godefroy de Bouillon was duke of lands in the Netherlands and Holland and became the first king of the Latin Kingdom upon winning Jerusalem back from its Muslim inhabitants in 1099. He was also counted as one of the Nine Worthies, a group of nine "historical" worthy and heroic figures celebrated in literature and art and popularized by Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux de Paon* in the fourteenth century. These men include Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, David, Charlemagne, King Arthur, and Godefroy de Bouillon. See H. C. Marillier, "The Nine Worthies," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 61, no. 352 (July 1932), pp. 13–19; James J. Rorimer and Margaret B. Freeman. "The Nine Heroes Tapestries at the Cloisters," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* New Series 7, no. 9 (May 1949), pp. 243–60; Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worthies in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [ca. 1971]).

7. William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea,* 117–21.

8. Please note that all quoted scene descriptions for this and the following scenes were taken from Jaroslav Folda's catalog of William of Tyre manuscripts, found in the second volume of his PhD dissertation, "The Illustrations in the Manuscripts." Thirteenth Century: Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 2825, fol. 13 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), "The King of Hungary receives envoys from the Duke, Godefroy de Bouillon, asking for passage through his land," Folda, p. 132. Fourteenth century: Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 22496, f. 24, "The messengers of Godefroy de Bouillon to Coloman, King of Hungary," Folda, p. 221.

2629, made for the Echevin of Rouen, far from Bruges, the viewer is also shown a kneeling envoy handing the message to the king, though in an expanded scene that also includes the duke handing the original message to the envoy, further emphasizing his role in the transaction. The image in Louis's *Eracles* is particular within the *Eracles* made in Burgundy and is simply focused on the exchange between the envoy and the foreign king, emphasizing the duke's respectful and effective diplomatic outreach.

A second rare scene portrays the citizens of Edessa welcoming Count Baldwin, Godefroy de Bouillon's brother and ultimately the second king of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as their ruler (figure 3), a scene present in only five other *Eracles* manuscripts, none of which was made in the fifteenth century.[9] In Louis's manuscript Baldwin rescues the willing people of Edessa with his famed strength and leadership, portrayed by the people of the city streaming from the city gate with their arms extended and hats in their hands, as Baldwin approaches. When one reads the third and fourth books of the chronicle, one discovers that it must have been a feat to locate a flattering scene to include about Baldwin, as the text which precedes the image and the passage from which it was taken describes his jealousy of and battles with another crusading leader Tancred and how his cruel behavior angers his brother Duke Godefroy.[10] In this episode in the chronicle, the citizens of Edessa are so afraid of the Turks, from which their own leader is not protecting them, that they beg Baldwin to come to their city to protect them, ultimately offering to murder their own leader and ensconce Baldwin in his place.[11] Nearly the only positive episode within this chapter is the joyous meeting of the city's citizens with Baldwin at the gate, the scene selected for illustration. This delicate scene selection provides Louis de Bruges with a flattering view of the Burgundian crusader more for what it omits about Baldwin than for what it reveals. Its avoidance of Baldwin's more destructive activities shows the conscious attempt at an image cycle that valorizes the Burgundian heroes of the past.

The most distinctive image in the manuscript, from Book Nine, shows

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Fifteenth century: Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 2629, fol. 34, "Godefroy de Bouillon sends his messenger, Godefroy de Asque, to the King of Hungary," Folda, p. 335.

9. The following manuscripts were made in the thirteenth century with the exception of the last, which was made ca. 1300: Berne, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 112, f. 23, Folda, p. 68 "Baldwin of Bouillon and his men are welcomed to Edessa by two men who give him the keys to the city"; Berne, Burgerbibliothek Ms. 163, f. 32v, Folda, p. 57 "The clergy and citizens of Edessa escort Baldwin of Bouillon into the city"; London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson, Ms. 12, f. 18v, Folda, p. 82 "Baldwin of Boulogne and his men are welcomed to Edessa by the clergy and citizens"; Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 779, f. 29v, Folda, p. 78 "The citizens of Edessa welcome Count Baldwin as their ruler"; and Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 2824, f. 21, Folda, p. 114 "The Governor and citizens of Edessa welcome Count Baldwin to their city."

10. See Book Three, Chapter XXV, and Book Four, Chapter I, Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et Ses Continuateurs,* 1:118–19, 121.

11. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et Ses Continuateurs,* 1: 122–28.

Godefroy de Bouillon praying at the Holy Sepulchre and refusing to wear the crown of Jerusalem after conquering the city (figure 4). Only two other manuscripts have been identified as containing Godefroy refusing the crown, one of which, now in Brussels, was illustrated in the same time period in Lille and was probably given as a gift to Philip the Good.[12] Drawing on generic coronation imagery in many cases, seventeen other manuscripts contain images that reference the coronation of Godefroy de Bouillon, but they only show him about to be crowned, being crowned, or already having been crowned, merely visually demonstrating the fact that he was the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom.[13] He is, at times, also shown piously praying in the Holy Sepulchre without any visual reference to his coronation.

The scene in Louis de Bruge's manuscript poetically portrays William of Tyre's description of Godefroy's refusal of the crown. Godefroy is positioned within the spiritually weighty site of the Holy Sepulchre while refusing to take the crown. The new king kneels before a crucifix, on which Christ wears a

12. Berne, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 163, fol. 77v, thirteenth century, "Godefroy de Bouillon after his election to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem refuses to be crowned" Folda, p. 58; BR, Ms. 9045, f. 91v, fifteenth century, "Godefroy de Bouillon becomes the first ruler of the new Kingdom of Jerusalem but refuses to be crowned," Folda, p. 362. The image in the Brussels manuscript is ambivalent, however, and may not portray refusal at all, but just the beginning of Godefroy's coronation in a domestic site, rather than at the Holy Sepulchre.

13. Thirteenth century: BnF Ms. fr. 9081, fol. 88v, "The reluctant Godefroy de Bouillon is presented by the nobles to be crowned by the Patriarch of Jerusalem," Folda, p. 18; BAV, Ms. Pal. Lat. 1963, fol. 78v, "A crusader baron and his wife come to the new King Godefroy to pay homage (?)," Folda, p. 24; Paris, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents 230bis., fol. 57v, "Godefroy de Bouillon, defender of the Holy Sepulchre, crowned and enthroned with his soldiers around him," Folda, p. 38; BnF Ms. fr. 2827, fol. 63v, "The newly elected ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, Godefroy de Bouillon, prays at the Holy Sepulchre as some of the crusader barons look on," Folda, p. 47; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5220, fol. 161, "Godefroy de Bouillon is crowned King of Jerusalem despite the opposition of some clergy," Folda, p. 63; Berne, Burgerbibliothek, Ms. 112, fol. 58, "The crusader barons elect Godefroy de Bouillon to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem despite clerical opposition," Folda, p. 69; BnF Ms. fr. 2630, fol. 71, "The crusader barons elect Godefroy de Bouillon to rule over the Kingdom of Jerusalem despite the objections of the clergy," Folda, p. 74; BnF Ms. fr. 779, fol. 73, "The coronation of Godefroy de Bouillon as the ruler of the Holy Land," Folda, p. 77; BL, Henry Yates Thompson, Ms. 12, fol. 46r, "Duke Godefroy of Bouillon is elected to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem," Folda, p. 84; Epinal, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 45, fol. 64v, "The crusader barons, having elected Godefroy de Bouillon to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem, escort him to his throne," Folda, p. 97; BR, Ms. 9492–3, fol. 101r, "Godefroy de Bouillon, elected to be ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, prays at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as the crusader barons prepare to crown him," Folda, p. 123; Fourteenth century: Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 651, fol. 63v, "The coronation of Godefroy de Bouillon as ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," Folda, p. 107; BnF Ms. fr. 2824, fol. 51r, "The crusader barons elect Godefroy de Bouillon to rule the Kingdom of Jerusalem despite the opposition of the clergy," Folda, p. 115; Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 142, fol. 69v, "Godefroy of Bouillon is enthroned as the new ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," Folda, p. 141; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. L.II.17, fol. 79, "The selection of Godefroy de Bouillon to be the ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," Folda, p. 155. Fifteenth century: BL, Royal 15.E.I., fol. 137v, "Godefroy de Bouillon, the newly elected ruler of the crusader territory, prays at the Holy Sepulchre," Folda, p. 351.

prominent crown of thorns. Godefroy holds his golden crown in his hands rather than wearing it. The chronicle refers directly to the fact that Godefroy would not wear any type of crown in the city where Christ was crowned with thorns.[14] The image is able to underscore visually his refusal of royal trappings and his reverence for Christ through the juxtaposition of the two crowns within the scene arguably as clearly as the chronicle's text does. The image in essence portrays the coronation of this Burgundian ancestral hero through the presence of the crown in his hands, while more importantly emphasizing his spiritual excellence, as displayed in his discomfort at donning royal displays in the city where Christ himself was crowned with thorns.[15]

The final exceptional image from Louis's manuscript shows the Islamic ruler Saladin decapitating Prince Raynauld de Châtillon, a Burgundian nobleman (figure 5). The scene appears in only one other *Eracles* manuscript (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 142).[16] At the Battle of the Horns of Hattin in July of 1187, Saladin captured Raynauld along with several other crusaders. He offered Raynauld a drink, but Raynauld refused and said "if it pleased God he would never drink or eat anything of his."[17] Saladin then asked Raynauld what he would do to him if their situation were reversed. Raynauld replied "So help me God, I would cut off your head," after which Saladin swiftly decapitated Raynauld in a rage.[18] The result is visualized; Raynauld is on his knees with blood gushing from his stump of a neck; his head lying on the ground with an expression of horror still upon it, while Saladin stands over him with his sword raised. Raynauld courageously resists taking nourishment from his and God's enemy. He is boldly honest to Saladin and takes no interest in his own life, asserting his disdain for the Islamic ruler. He loses his life honorably, not having succumbed to the temptations of comfort from his enemy and having stayed true to his knightly code.

Louis de Bruge's manuscript visualizes Burgundian crusading heroes in a positive light, most notably in the scenes of Godefroy of Bouillon at the Holy Sepulchre and Raynauld of Châtillon's decapitation. These scenes emphasize virtues of humility, faith, and courage, making these historic figures also chi-

14. "Quant il fu esleuz a roi tuit li baron li requistrent que il se feist coronner et receust lenneur du roiaume si hautement com li autre roi de la Crestiente le font; il respondi quen cele sainte cite ou Nostre Sires Jhesucriz avoit portee courone despines por lui et por les autres pecheeurs ne porteroit il ja se Dieu plesoit corone dor ne de pierres aincois li sembloit que assez i avoit eu de celi coronnement qui avoit este fez le jor de la Passion Notre Seigneur por ennorer touz les rois crestiens qui apres lui seroient en Jherusalem. Por ceste chose que il refusa la coronne sont unes gens qui ne le vuelent conter entre les rois de Jherusalem . . ." Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et Ses Continuateurs,* 1: 309.

15. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea,* 1: 381–92, 392–93.

16. Fourteenth century: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W. 142, fol. 247, "Salehadin himself decapitates Raynauld de Châtillon," Folda, p. 146.

17. Edbury, *Conquest,* p. 48.

18. Edbury, *Conquest,* p. 48.

valric heroes. In addition, the gore of the decapitation adds a lurid sense of entertainment. These more unique narrative images are meant to entertain the viewer much like romance texts.

In conjunction with the images, the text also entertains the reader. R. H. C. Davis points out that both William's text and its translation into Old French were successful in drawing an audience because of their "picturesque" nature, as stories of the East with descriptions of places for courageous adventures.[19] The translator embellished battle scenes and added more emotion to increase the narrative interest of the text.[20] In moving from Latin to Old French, he made the text more palatable to a noble French audience by eliminating William's classical allusions and deleting his ecclesiastical and chancery jargon. The Old French translator also tried to temper the text to reflect his lay audience's interests; for example, he anticipated their lack of patience with, and so deleted, spots where William ascribes losses in battle to the sins of the westerners or where he criticizes the bad behavior of the rulers of the Latin kingdom.[21] Scholars have noted that William's intention was to explain clearly the Holy Land's dangerous situation in order to seek help from the west. Bernard Hamilton and John Pryor argue that the French translation changes this urgent plea into what they call a pleasant "chivalresque epic," or a "prose version of a *chanson de geste*."[22] The *Eracles* is not only a chronicle then but also an entertainment, a romantic literary escape, and it can be seen as traversing genre.

In a study of Philip the Good's patronage of histories, Elizabeth Moodey observed that genre in fifteenth-century Burgundian history writing was fluid. Histories were romanticized to be more entertaining, and romances were given historical roots in Philip the Good's northern territories. Texts were altered to pander to courtly interest in Burgundian crusader heroes. She notes that authors of this period insert figures of Burgundian ancestry as primary characters where others once stood. Thus Alexander the Great is transformed into a "nobleman of Picardy" in a history of the ancient world.[23] The figures in these Burgundian works served as models for contemporary knightly behavior, and as such, the courtiers who read them sought to become heroic crusaders engaged in romantic feats in their own time.

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19. R. H. C. Davis, "William of Tyre," in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages,* ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), p. 73. In the fifteenth-century translation, the text changes minimally to update the spelling and grammar but remains very true to the Old French version.

20. Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre," p. 100.

21. Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre," 96–97; Pryor, "The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," p. 275.

22. Hamilton, "The Old French Translation of William of Tyre," p. 112; Pryor, "The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," p. 293.

23. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* p. 87.

Returning then to the original query: how does the *Eracles* history relate to the rest of Louis de Bruge's collection, which contained histories, romances, and religious books among other items? Scholars point to several categories of texts present in the collection. In the absence of an inventory, we do not know how Louis de Bruges personally categorized his manuscripts. We know many contemporaries organized books only according to language, rather than types of text.[24] Louis's *Eracles* was a manuscript with a text that crosses modern boundaries of genre and includes images painted to entertain as well as edify. Because Louis's *Eracles* could inhabit multiple categories, such as history or romance, I would rather understand how the historical context of the collector's life might provide a new thematic category within his collection, which could link previously disparate manuscripts together.

As an active member of Philip the Good's court, Louis was exposed to the duke's interests, including his promotion of a renewed crusade to save the Holy Land. In 1431 Philip established a Burgundian chivalric order dedicated to supporting the crusade, the Order of the Golden Fleece. There were twenty-four members of the Order who were bound to take up the cross if ever Philip decided to do so himself.[25] The order took on a mythical founder, Jason, who in his quest for the Golden Fleece mirrored the Order's quest for a safe Holy Land. Louis de Bruges was inducted into this order in 1461.

Philip tried to mount a crusade following the capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453. In order to do so the duke orchestrated a grand event to convince his followers to vow to go on the crusade. This event was the well-known Feast of the Pheasant, which took place in February of 1454 in Lille.[26] It was attended by Louis de Bruges and Jean V de Créquy, who was also a member of the Order and another *Eracles* patron (Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 483).[27] Entertainments included singers, actors portraying the story of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and a personification of Holy Church

24. Anne D. Hedeman, *Translating the Past: Laurent de Premierfait and Boccaccio's De casibus* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), p. 3.

25. Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 57.

26. For the Feast of the Pheasant, see the following: *Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454: L'Occident face au défi de l'Empire Ottoman,* ed. Marie-Thérèse Caron et Denis Clauzel (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 1997); Marie-Thérèse Caron, "17 février 1454: le Banquet du Voeu du Faisan, fête de cour et stratégies de pouvoir," *Revue du Nord* 78, no. 315 (1996), pp. 269–88; Olivier de la Marche, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître d'hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire;* publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France par Henri Beaune et J. D'Arbaumont, 4 tomes (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1883–88), 2: 340–80; *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy,* ed. G[aston] L[ouis] E[mmanuel] du Fresne de Beaucourt, Société de l'histoire de France, 3 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1863–4), 2: 113–237; Agathe Lafortune-Martel, *Fête noble en Bourgogne au XVe siècle: le Banquet du Faisan (1454): Aspects politiques, sociaux et culturels,* Cahiers d'études médiévales 8 (Montreal: Bellarmin; Paris: Vrin, 1984); Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* pp. 180–97.

27. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* p. 180.

asking the duke to come and help her while riding on an elephant led by a Saracen. After this plea, Philip took a vow to save Constantinople, as did all of his courtiers, including Louis de Bruges.[28] Elizabeth Moodey suggested that the personification element effectively transformed the entire party "into a romance, to a dramatic opening scene in which the arrival of the mysterious beleaguered maiden at a banquet signaled the beginning of a quest," a quest then taken up by the knights present in the room.[29] Events such as the Feast of the Pheasant allowed the members of the court the opportunity to perform the roles of the heroes of the crusades publicly. Following the feast, Philip did begin to gather the supplies needed for war, including tents, banners, soldiers, and ships.[30] However, a crusade did not occur, and one wonders how serious Philip's courtiers were in their vows to follow him east. What we can conclude is that Philip and his knights envisioned themselves going on crusade and adding new chapters to the histories of the crusades they all owned.

As a member of the Burgundian court and Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Louis de Bruges commissioned several books that served the interests of the court and order broadly, and it is in this context that his *Eracles* best fits in. He owned the Statutes of the Order, texts regarding its mythological heritage, and histories and adventures that chronicled past events but related to contemporary interests, such as in his *Eracles* manuscript's portrayal of Flemish heroes going on crusade. The illustrations in this manuscript emphasize the heroic Flemish crusaders' actions in the Holy Land and allowed Louis to participate visually in the actions of the crusade, if never physically, in a manner similar to the performance of the vows to save Holy Church at the Feast of the Pheasant. Within his library there were many other examples, including his *Statuten van de Orde van het Gulden Vlies* manuscript, made sometime after 1473, which includes a frontispiece image (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Chiflet 91, fol. 2) of the Order of the Golden Fleece assembled, and although they have not have been painted in, there are shields at the feet of each

28. He vowed to commit his body and wealth to the Duke's service and to go with him on his holy voyages, or to go with Lords Charolois and Estampes if the Duke is unable to go, unless illness or another acceptable excuse kept him from fulfilling his vow. "Gruthuse veue à Dieu, à Nostre-Dame, aux dames au faisant, que ou cas que mon très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne emprengne de aler ou saint voyage, je le serviray de mon corps et de ma chevance; et sil lui plaist, de sa grace, de moy ordonner et faire cest honneur de estre aveuc lui, je me habandonneray jusques à la mort; et pareillement feray en tous autres voyages où monseigneur sera. Et sil advenoit que les affaires de mondit seigneur fussent telz que oudit saint voyage ne peust aler, et que mon très redoubté seigneur, monseigneur de Charolois ou monseigneur dEstampes y allassent, pareillement que dessus, le serviray oudit saint voyage au plaisir de Dieu et de Nostre-Dame, je feray ce que dit est, ou cas que je naye maladie ou ensonne, par quoy je ne puisse faire ledit veu, et que ce soit le bon plaisir et congié de mondit très redoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne," *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy,* 2, 187–88.

29. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* p. 189.

30. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* pp. 198, 203.

member where the painter could identify each knight with his personal arms. Two other example texts are extant in several volumes relating to the Order of the Golden Fleece's mythical heritage regarding the Quest for the Golden Fleece. The first is Guillaume Fillastre's, *Conquête de la Toison d'Or* (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 139–140), and the second is Raoul Lefèvre, *Histoire de la Conquête de la Toison d'Or* (Paris, BnF mss. fr. 331 and 12570).[31] To these one might include the multiple texts about the ancient world he owned that contain a cycle of images regarding Jason and the Golden Fleece, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* which visualizes Jason's labors in a multiple episode miniature, with his taking of the Golden Fleece in the back left corner (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 137, f. 86v).

The interest in the heroic nature of crusade within the Burgundian court made it common among the Burgundian elite to commission texts that featured Burgundian heroes on adventures at home and abroad.[32] Jacques de Guise's *Chroniques de Hainaut,* although a local history, contains a third volume that records the histories of crusading figures from the Hainaut, such as Baudouin II de Hainaut, who died in the Holy Land in the First Crusade (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 809–811). This chronicle is also painted in a demi-grisaille color palette, but in an artistic hand different from that of the *Eracles* manuscript.

In *Gillion de Trazegnies* (Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection, Ms.7535), the author describes a tomb in the Hainault in which Gillion, a polygamist, was buried between his two wives. The tale explains that after a vow to go to the Holy Land if his wife successfully conceived, Gillion leaves to go on crusade and then after many adventures, explains how he became a polygamist. Scholars have found that people in the region actually believed a particular tomb to be that of Gillion. The text then mingles romantic adventures with a supposed grounding in history.

Although Louis de Bruge's enormous personal library included a variety of texts, this study has shown that he actively collected manuscripts thematically related to crusades to the Holy Land. As a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which was dedicated to crusading, it of course makes sense that Louis de Bruges would commission a book of its statutes, as well as manuscripts of texts regarding the order's mythological founder, who in his quest for the Golden Fleece paralleled the Order's quest for a safe Holy Land. Having taken a public vow to go on crusade at the Feast of the Pheasant, inspired by the loss

31. The frontispieces of the *Statuten* and Fillastre's *Conquête* are very similar in composition, showing two rows of seated Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece with the Duke of Burgundy sitting in the central back presiding over the order. However, they are not identical by any means, as the Fillastre manuscript has an additional detail added in the foreground of a bishop reading from a book, as well as the fact that the color palettes and rendering of figures are vastly different.

32. Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good,* pp. 85–87.

of Constantinople to the Ottomans, and as a proud Flemish nobleman, Louis would also have a related interest in romances and histories that recount the adventures of regional crusaders. His *Eracles* manuscript, with its visual and textual valorization of Burgundian crusading heroes such as Godefroy de Bouillon and Raynaud de Châtillon, fits in well in this group. All of these texts are related through their support of Philip the Good's culture of crusading, current in his court. Although we have no evidence as to how these were used, it is possible that Louis de Bruges enjoyed imagining himself and his fellow knights as the newest generation of Burgundian heroes who would one day be lionized through texts such as those he collected.

Figure 1: Emperor Heraclius enthroned, bombard emblem of Louis de Bruges, arms of King Louis XII covering arms of Gruuthuse, and initials L-A, for King Louis XII of France and his wife Queen Anne, converted from L-M, for Louis de Bruges and his wife Margaret. *Livre d'Eracles.* BnF Ms. fr. 68, fol. 1. (Photo BnF)

Figure 2: Coloman, King of Hungary, receives Duke Godefroy de Bouillon's messengers. *Livre d'Eracles.* BnF Ms. fr. 68, fol. 20v. (Photo BnF)

Figure 3: The citizens of Edessa welcome Count Baldwin, Godefroy de Bouillon's brother, as their ruler. *Livre d'Eracles.* BnF Ms. fr. 68, fol. 44. (Photo BnF)

Figure 4: Godefroy de Bouillon upon conquering Jerusalem, prays at the Holy Sepulchre and refuses to wear the crown of Jerusalem. *Livre d'Eracles.* BnF Ms. fr. 68, fol. 112. (Photo BnF)

Figure 5: BnF Ms. fr. 68, fol. 399. *Livre d'Eracles.* Saladin decapitates Prince Raynauld de Châtillon. *Livre d'Eracles.* BnF Ms. fr. 68, folio 399. (Photo BnF)

CHAPTER 11

Reading Royal Allegories in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*

The Soissons Manuscript (Paris, BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541)

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The reading and interpretation of medieval manuscripts is notoriously elastic, welcoming of contradiction, and subject to flux. This makes them difficult to study, but not impossible. The Soissons Manuscript of Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541) offers us the chance to examine political allegories embedded in devotional poetry and how they reflect challenges to the legitimacy of Philip VI, the first Valois king of France. When we approach the act of reading in this manuscript as a range of possibilities, we find the Blessed Virgin harnessed to a dynastic propaganda machine at the very least, and at most, she stands behind the repudiated and manipulated Capetian queens, whose scandals and intrigue drove the succession crises of fourteenth-century France.

I have argued elsewhere that Gautier de Coinci's early-thirteenth-century *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* a unified collection of Marian miracle stories and devotional songs composed in the courtly styles of romance and trouvère love lyrics, was written as a pious literary diversion for monastic *recreatio.*[1] Another article focused on the nature of that recreational reading, examining how the final prayer cycle of the collection adapts the monastic practice of spiritual

1. Kathryn A. Duys, "Medieval Literary Performance: Gautier de Coinci's Guide for the Perplexed," in *Acts and Texts: Performance and Ritual in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* ed. Laurie Postlewate and Wim Husken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 183–216. All references to the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* are drawn from Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame,* ed. Frédéric Koenig, 4 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1966–70).

reading for recreational piety rather than formal devotions.[2] I drew evidence for these reading processes from Gautier's poetry, music, and textual design, placing my findings within the context of the audience that Gautier evokes in his work: a close-knit network of well-born men and women—laity and clergy, cloistered and secular—many of whom were the poet's friends. Because individual surviving manuscripts permit a more precise examination of how these ideas played out in relation to real people in a specific place and time, I now examine the reading practice preserved in the preeminent surviving manuscript of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* the Soissons Manuscript (BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541).

The Soissons Manuscript is thought to have been made in Paris for the king and queen of France, Philip VI of Valois and Jeanne of Burgundy, around 1329 or 1330, very shortly after their accession to the throne of France in 1328.[3] This deluxe royal manuscript is primarily known for its splendid Italianate miniatures, considered the last known work of Jean Pucelle. However, it deserves renown for many other reasons, not the least of which are the dynastic politics that it brings to the reading practices and interpretive strategies of Gautier's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*.

Gautier's *Miracles* are distinguished in the Soissons Manuscript for a number of reasons. Its frontispiece, unique in this manuscript tradition, is the most complex surviving medieval representation of the allegorized Throne of Solomon. In addition, the manuscript closes with an extraordinary sequence of nine royal patron images spread among the prayers that conclude the collection—also unparalleled in this manuscript tradition. The marginalia, too, are extraordinary; it is the most complete medieval glossing of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame.* Finally, this manuscript has a unique arrangement of Gautier's Marian collection. I have argued elsewhere that interventionist scribes and compilers enhanced the design of Gautier's Marian collection in this manuscript by triplicating the symmetrical patterning of its song cycles perfectly.[4] To achieve this enhanced design, several

2. Kathryn A. Duys, "Performing Vernacular Song in Monastic Culture: The *Lectio divina* in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame,*" in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Festschrift for Nancy Freeman Regalado,* ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns, Gallica 5 (Cambridge: Brewer, 2007), pp. 123–33.

3. For a full bibliography on the Soissons Manuscript, see Nancy Black, "Images of the Virgin Mary in the Soissons Manuscript (Paris, BnF, Ms. n. a. fr. 24541)," in *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts,* ed. Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 253–77. Black and white reproductions of forty-four of the seventy-eight miniatures of the Soissons Manuscript are found in Henri Focillon, *Le Peintre des Miracles de Nostre Dame,* photo. Pierre Devinoy (Paris: Hartmann, 1950). See also Kathleen Morand, *Jean Pucelle* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

4. Kathryn A. Duys, "Books Shaped by Song: Early Literary Literacy in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* of Gautier de Coinci," PhD diss., New York University, 1997, pp. 198–235. In a careful genetic study of the principal manuscripts of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* M. Okubo has argued that the organization of the Soissons Manuscript is the product of scribes who combined the best available exemplars and copied them faithfully; M. Okubo, "La formation de la collection des *Miracles* de Gautier de Coinci," *Romania* 123 (2005), pp. 141–212 and 408–58. The added features of the Soissons Manuscript

of Gautier's songs were duplicated and a single extra piece was added, the Latin sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* composed by Philip the Chancellor.

To explore the fourteenth-century royal reading of Gautier's *Miracles* that his manuscript preserves, I focus on four of its exceptional features: the Throne of Solomon frontispiece, the added Latin sequence by Philip the Chancellor, the nine patron images, and some of the glossing. The famously complex frontispiece has always proved problematic for art historians because it is tipped-in, and therefore may have been added to the illumination program at a later time. Furthermore, while Gautier's Marian miracle collection is an appropriate setting for the frontispiece, there is not a single reference to the Throne of Solomon in the 36,000 lines of the *Miracles.* Unlike the frontispiece, Philip the Chancellor's Latin sequence has attracted no special attention, even though his works in another roughly contemporary royal manuscript, the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* (BnF fr. 146), have drawn intense scrutiny. The nine royal patron images at the end of the manuscript and the glossing in the manuscript have only recently been studied.

I. Gautier de Coinci's Adaptation of the *Lectio divina*

As a Benedictine monk, Gautier was steeped in spiritual reading. The *lectio divina,* or *sacra pagina* as it was also known, was the meditative, spiritual reading technique employed by monks in a continuous, almost unchanged tradition from the sixth through the twelfth centuries.[5] It involved what Jacques Leclercq has called "active reading," being the oral rumination on Scripture that inscribed the word of God in one's heart and in one's whole being.[6] Speaking, thinking, remembering: this process allowed the prayerful to mouth the word of God and delight in its sweetness as they reviewed the words of Scripture from different exegetical perspectives, murmuring, speaking, or singing as the occasion demanded. The process started with reading and interpreting the Bible, and then moved toward meditation on Scripture in order to foster true prayer.

(its frontispiece, Latin song, patron images, and glossing) that are my focus here lie largely outside of Okubo's consideration.

5. On the *lectio divina,* see Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture,* trans. C. Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), especially pp. 15–7, 29–34, and 72–86; and his "[The Exposition and Exegesis of Scripture:] From Gregory the Great to St. Bernard," in *Cambridge History of the Bible,* ed. Peter R. Ackroyd, G. W. H. Lampe, S. L. Greenslade, and C. F. Evans, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963–70), 2: 183–96; Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), passim, but especially pp. 46, 156–88, and her *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), passim, but especially pp. 2–6.

6. Leclercq, *Love of Learning,* pp. 16, 72–73.

As Mary Carruthers has shown, the *lectio divina* was one of the primary applications of the art of memory in monastic culture. Indeed, *memoria* was the connective tissue that held essential parts of the monastic reading experience together because it gave meaning to the *lectio* and propelled it toward *meditatio.* The basic mnemonic that the *lectio divina* employed was the three-fold interpretation of Scripture. In the preface to his *Chronica,* Hugh of Saint Victor explains that the first two levels of interpretation focused on the text itself and pertained to the act of reading, the *lectio,* but the third level pertained primarily to *meditatio.*[7] The literal sense of the word uncovered the basic action of the narrative. This often involved grammatical commentaries, paraphrasing, or rhetorical wordplay that literally focused on the letter of the word, such as acrostics or *annominatio.* The second level of interpretation related the action revealed by the literal meaning to another action, either to earlier actions recounted in the Old Testament through typologies, or to future actions through allegory. The third level of interpretation was tropological and anagogical in nature; it reoriented the words of Scripture so that the monk could use them to reflect on himself and his own actions in relation to Christ and the afterlife. Hugh notes that this is speech that "has changed direction or discourse folded-back on itself (*sermo conversus sive locutio replicata*), for without a doubt we turn (*convertimus*) the words of a story that is about others to our own instruction when, having read of the deeds of others, we conform our living to their example."[8]

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the monastic *lectio* no longer belonged exclusively within the walls of cloistered communities, for it began to be applied to vernacular works, and structured readings of new subjects, in new modes, for diverse purposes, in a new population that included lay people and women of various milieus. Just as scholasticism and universities reshaped the ancient monastic practice to create a distinct scholastic *lectio* in the twelfth century, from the thirteenth century on, these factors continued to push those changes in ever more complex ways to create a broad range of new reading techniques, performance practices, interpretative strategies, and textual experiences. There is not yet a typology of the changes the *lectio* underwent from the thirteenth century on, but Gautier's innovations, bringing the monastic oral reading practice to bear on vernacular texts through courtly poetics, represents an early step in the metamorphosis of the *lectio.*[9] Within a cloister, he applied the monastic *lectio* to vernacular song in a recreational work that belonged

7. Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon,* ed. Charles H. Buttimer (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1939), trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), III: 7–10; quoted in Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* pp. 162–69.

8. Hugh of Saint Victor, "De Tribus Maximis Circumstantiis Gestorum" [preface to the *Chronica*], translated in Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* p. 265.

9. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory,* p. 46.

in the margins of the organized devotions of monastic life. And although he maintained an orthodox objective—prayer to Christ—he did so by making extensive use of the latest techniques of lyric citation practiced by secular poets who worked in the vernacular.[10] By the fourteenth century, the techniques of the *lectio* have moved further from the monastery and university, and into the Parisian court, a place and time fraught with the dynastic politics of the first indirect successions to the throne of France in centuries.

II. The Accession of the First Valois to the Throne of France

When Philip VI ascended the throne of France in 1328, the crown passed to a cadet branch of the Capetian line, the Valois, ending more than three centuries of direct succession of male heirs descended from Hugh Capet. The passage of the throne from father to son had actually ended a dozen years earlier, for when Louis X died, he left no male heirs and the crown passed to his bother Philip V. Philip V also passed away without male issue, as did the next king, his brother, Charles IV. Then Capetian dynasty formally came to a close, and Philip VI of Valois, the nephew of Philip IV the Fair (through Charles of Valois), and uncle of the three previous kings (Louis X, Philip V, Charles IV), ascended to the throne in 1328.

These first indirect successions were challenged in 1316 when Philip V succeeded Louis X,[11] and again during the crisis of 1358, when the right of Charles V to the throne was questioned because of the accession of his grandfather, Philip VI.[12] Given the crisis of 1316, it comes as no surprise that Philip VI of Valois took particular care to establish the legitimacy of his rule when he took the throne in 1328 by layering new meanings on many of the symbols and epithets that had long been associated with the Capetians, especially those concerning Annunciation iconography and Old Testament kingship.[13]

10. Duys, "Performing Vernacular Song," p. 124.

11. The right of Philip V to succeed his brother Louis X on the throne of France was challenged by his uncle Charles of Valois (father of the future Philip VI), Edward II king of England (himself a peer of France), and by Eudes of Burgundy on behalf of the four-year-old Jeanne of Navarre, the daughter of Louis X.

12. After losing the battle of Poitiers in 1356, John II was imprisoned in London. In 1358, while John was still in prison, his son, the future Charles V, faced a revolt in Paris (the *Jacquerie*) whose goal was to put Charles of Navarre on the throne. Both Edward III of England (grandson of Philip IV the Fair, son of Isabelle of France and of Edward II of England) and Charles of Navarre (great-grandson of Philip IV the Fair, grandson of Louis X, son of Jeanne of Navarre) challenged the right of Charles V to the throne, for they were easily as close to the last Capetians as Philip VI, though they were related through the female line.

13. Anne Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in His Musical Works* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 224–57.

Trinitarian symbolism was as important to Philip VI as it was to French kings before and after him who adopted the triple fleurs-de-lis. He purposefully arranged to be crowned on Trinity Sunday, as would Charles V in 1364.[14] The significance of the Trinity to the French monarch is reflected in Vincent of Beauvais's mid-thirteenth-century *De morali principis institutione,* which teaches that the king should model himself on the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit by surpassing his people in the virtues that he attributed to the Trinity: power, wisdom, and goodness. He also evoked the symbol of Mary's purity, the lily (or *fleur-de-lis*), both in the Trinity and as the royal emblem.[15] Philip of Vitry used this reasoning in his overtly political poem *Le Chapel des trois fleurs-de-lys,* which was written to promote the 1335 crusade that Philip VI announced but never carried out. Vitry explicitly related the lily, the Trinity, and the continuation of the French monarchy:

Les fleurs par qui France a puissance
Sont appelees, sanz doubtance,
Science, Foy, Chevalerie
Ces .iii. fleurs font une aliance
Entr'eulx semblable a l'ordonnance

De la souvraine jerarchie
Diex qui est treble en unité
A fourmé une trinité
En ces .iii. fleurs dessus nommees
Par elles dure royaylté
Par elles regne loyaulté
Quant elles sont bien assemblees . . .[16] (vv. 19–30)

14. See Marc Léopold Benjamin Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France,* trans. J. E. Anderson (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973); and Jean-Pierre Poly, "Le Capétien thaumaturge: Genèse d'un miracle royal," in *La France de l'an mil,* eds. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Robert Delort, Collections Points, série histoire, 130 (Paris: Seuil, 1990), pp. 282–308.

15. Many patristic writers had already developed the trifold symbolism of the lily. Bede treats three lilies in his *De Tabernaculo, Bede on the Tabernacle,* trans. Arthur G. Holder, Translated Texts for Historians 18 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), pp. 33–4 (Bk. I, 11. 1118–1113); Bernard of Clairvaux, *St. Bernard's Sermons on the Blessed Virgin Mary,* trans. a priest of Mount Melleray (Chumleigh: Augustine, 1984), pp. 144–45; Thomas the Cistercian in his *Commentarium In Cantica,* ed. Migne, *Patrologia latina* vol. 206 (Paris, 1855), cols. 317–18; and it is also found in Francis of Assisi, *Acti Beati Francisci et sociorum ejus,* ed. Paul Sabatier (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902), pp. 142–43 (chapter 45).

16. "The flowers through which France has power are called, without doubt, Knowledge, Faith, and Chivalry. These three flowers form an alliance among themselves like that of the ordering of the sovereign hierarchy. God who is threefold in a unity has formed a Trinity in these three flowers named above. Through them royalty endures, through them loyalty reigns, when they are well assembled" (11. 19–30). Philippe de Vitry, *Le Chapel des trois fleurs de lis,* ed. A. Piaget, *Romania* 27 (1898), p. 72.

Philip of Vitry explains the allegory of knowledge, faith, and chivalry through Old Testament kings, Solomon and David, and then instructs the king on principles of good government through further illustrations of Old Testament rulers. Near the end of the poem, he reintroduces the Trinity in the guise of a different trio, declaring that it was Saints Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius who brought the fleur-de-lis to France from Greece long ago, proving that the Trinity had a special predilection for France: ". . . .la souveraine trinité / a singuliere affection / A la françoise region."(vv. 1044–46)[17] Also in 1337, the year that the Hundred Years' War began, William of Digulleville composed his *Roman de la fleur de lis* for Philip VI, again explicitly associating the Marian lily and Christian kingship. In his romance, the character of *Grace-Dieu* tells the king that the three lilies signal that he is king and reigns through God.[18]

The association of French kings with Old Testament rulers was a long-standing tradition. The use of anointing during the coronation was based on coronations described in the Bible, the consecrations of David (1 Samuel 16.13) and Solomon (1 Kings 1.39). Through this ritual Carolingian and Capetian kings claimed filiation from the great Hebrew kings, receiving the sobriquet of *rex christianissimus* from historians and prelates.[19] Old Testament kings were also used as models for secular kingship in numerous mirrors of princes, such as John of Salisbury's *Policraticus,* Brunetto Latini's *Livre dou Trésor,* Thomas Aquinas's *De regno,* John of Paris's *De Potestate regia et papali,* and the French *Somme le roi*.[20] For our purposes, it is particularly important that St. Louis preferred King Solomon.[21]

A good deal of this royal symbolism appears in the Soissons Manuscript in its images, music, and textual design. The most prominent of the dynastic symbols in the manuscript is the allegorized Throne of Solomon frontispiece, which adopts St. Louis's preferred symbolism and subjects it to the same interpretive technique that is found in the series of prayers that closes the manuscript, the *lectio divina.* Gautier's final prayers, which form a *catena* of Annunciation pieces that revolve around the *Ave Maria,* are personalized by the insertion

17. ". . . the sovereign Trinity has a singular affection toward the French region . . ." (11. 1044–46). Philippe de Vitry, *Chapel,* p. 92.

18. Guillaume de Diguilleville, *Roman de la fleur de lis,* ed. A. Piaget, Romania 62 (1936), pp. 317–58 (vv. 1211–15).

19. Colette Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France,* ed. Frederic L. Cheyette, trans. Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 343–44.

20. See the name index and listing of original textual sources for their translations in *Readings in Medieval Political Theory: 1100–1400,* ed. Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. x–xi.

21. Daniel H. Weiss, "Architectural symbolism and the decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle," *Art Bulletin* 77 (June 1995), pp. 308–20; and his "The Three Solomon Portraits in the Arsenal Old Testament and the Construction of Meaning in Crusader Painting," *Arte Medievale* 6, 2 (1992), pp. 15–38.

of patron images: four kings and five queens kneeling before the Virgin and Child. The two major additions to Gautier's *Miracles* in the Soissons Manuscript, the frontispiece and Philip the Chancellor's Latin lay, both enhance the relationship between royalty and Annunciation symbolism at the front of the collection, explicitly communicating the Valois dynastic program by adopting the threefold reading technique that shapes the final prayers.[22] Moreover, since the frontispiece and the Latin sequence are positioned at the very beginning of the collection, they acknowledge the symmetries that govern Gautier's textual design which repeatedly connects beginnings and endings.

As Karen Fresco shows in this volume in chapter 9, Part II, The Shrewsbury Book (London, BL, Royal 15 E. vi), uses this same reading strategy to connect the presentation image and the miniature that introduces the final text in the anthology, Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie.* In chapter 7, Andrew Taylor explains that the Shrewsbury Book, made for Margaret of Anjou on the occasion of her wedding to the English king, Henry VI, also has a dynastic program. It opens with a genealogical table that sets forth Henry's claim to the French throne. Since Margaret could trace her descent back to King John II the Good of France, her great-great-grandfather, their marriage would strengthen the English case for the French throne.

III. The Throne of Solomon Frontispiece

The Throne of Solomon, the subject of the Soissons Manuscript's frontispiece, is described twice in the Bible, in 1 Kings 10.18–20, and in 2 Chronicles 9.17–19: "The king also made a great ivory throne, and overlaid it with the finest gold. The throne had six steps. The top of the throne was rounded in the back, and on each side of the seat were arm rests and two lions standing beside the arm rests, while twelve lions were standing, one on each end of a step on the six steps. Nothing like it was ever made in any kingdom." Solomon's throne was allegorized by Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century as the Throne of Wisdom, the *sedes sapientiae.*[23] Solomon had been associated with Christ from early patristic times, but Rabanus stressed the perfect number symbolism of the six steps leading up to his throne, and likened the two lions on either side of it to the Old and New Testaments.[24] As early as the fourth century, the Virgin was called the

22. The frontispiece is found on a preliminary folio that was tipped-in to the Soissons Manuscript, fol. Av, and the Philip the Chancellor sequence is on fols. 7v–8v.

23. For the medieval allegorization of Solomon's throne, see Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky,* ed. M. Meiss, *De Artibus Opuscula* 40, 2 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 1: 532–9; 2 (plates): 175–77.

24. Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Libros IV Regum,* ed. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* vol. 109 (Paris: Migne, 1853), col. 197.

Throne of God.[25] More elaborate interpretations of this Marian figure began to appear from the twelfth century on. In a sermon on the nativity of the Virgin now attributed to Nicholas of Clairvaux (secretary to Bernard of Clairvaux from 1145–51), the Virgin, as the seat of the Christ child, is associated with the throne itself, and the two lions on either side symbolize the Angel Gabriel and St. John the Evangelist who sustained Mary in mind and in body respectively.[26] A mid-thirteenth-century work, the *De Laudibus b. Mariae Virginis,* now attributed to Richard of St. Laurent (ca. 1245), makes Nicholas's reference to John clearer by citing the scene in which the crucified Christ looks down from the cross on His grieving mother and John, saying to His disciple, "Behold thy mother," and to Mary, "Behold thy son" (John 20:25–27).[27] In a *Bible moralisée* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 270b, fol. 164) of the mid-thirteenth century, the throne, which is allegorized as the Virgin, has six steps leading up to it that are associated with six virtues.[28] The elaborate sculpture program on the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral, which dates from 1225–35, associates the Passion with the Throne of Solomon. It depicts scenes from the Passion and Resurrection in the tympanum of the central portal, immediately below the enthroned Virgin.[29] Finally, there is another tradition that begins in the mid-

25. Athanasius (296–373) and John of Damascus (675–749) both associated the Virgin with the throne of Christ. See Ilene H. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom: Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) for these early attributions.

26. Petrus Damianus, *Sermo XLIV in nativitate s. Mariae,* ed. Migne, *Patrologia latina,* vol. 144 (Paris: Migne, 1853), cols. 736–40. On the attribution of the sermon, see Joseph J. Ryan, "St. Peter Damian and the Sermons of Nicholas of Clairvaux: A Clarification," *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947), pp. 151–61. In the early twelfth century, Guibert de Nogent also refers to the Virgin as the Throne of Solomon, but interprets the elements of the throne somewhat differently in the third chapter of his *De Laude sanctae Mariae,* ed. L. d'Achery (1651 repr. *Patrologia latina,* ed. Migne, Paris: Migne, 1853), col. 542a–d.

27. "Duo leones isti Gabriel et Joannes Evangelista a dextris et a sinistris. Joannes principaliter ad sinistram, cui commissa est cura corporis Dominicae matris, quando dictum est discipulo: 'Ecce mater tua:' ei in temporalibus providens, et in virginitatis ejus fidelissimus testis. Gabriel custos dextrae, id est, animae, custos scilicet interior ferventissima et sanctissima ejus desideria nuntians Altissimo, quod est officium Angelorum, qui interpretatur fortitudo Dei: satanam fugans et sternens, ne virginitatem ejus valeret explorare: Mariae in omnibus spiritualibus obsequiis assistens." Isa Ragusa finds this commentary illustrated in a single miniature in a German psalter (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 54, fol. 9) that depicts the Coronation of the Virgin by Christ, both of whom are seated on a detailed Throne of Solomon. This is, however, only the second of three allegorizations of the two lions of Solomon's throne in Richard's commentary. The first associates the lions with the two Johns—John the Baptist and John the Evangelist—in reference to the Last Judgment. The third allegory identifies the two lions with Christ (on the right) and the devil (on the left), another allusion to the Last Judgment. The commentary is published in Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia,* vol. 36 (Paris: Vivès, 1898). See Isa Ragusa, "*Terror demonum* and *terror inimicorum:* The two lions of the throne of Solomon and the open door of paradise," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 40. 2 (Jan. 1977), p. 100.

28. The text of the Bible moralisé reads: ". . . Thronus Salomonis signat thronum quem pater filio disposuit scilicet beatam virginem. Duo leunculi. Vetus et novum testamentum. Leunculi. XII apostolos. XII. Sex gradus sex virtutes."

29. Karen Gould, "Jean Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art: New Evidence from Strasbourg Cathe-

thirteenth century that is a natural extension of the iconographic association of the throne with the Passion. It associates the Throne of Solomon with the Last Judgment, an interpretation that was implicit from the start because Solomon was nearly always considered in his capacity as a judge.[30]

Once the throne and its different elements are related to wisdom, the Old and New Testaments, the Virgin, her virtues, Gabriel, John, and the Passion, all the major pieces are in place for a theological explication of the Soissons Manuscript frontispiece (see figure 1 and appendix).[31] In the upper register of the large central panel, the Virgin is seated in a throne that looks like a church, *ecclesia,* and holds the Christ child on her lap. Above her head are seven doves labeled as the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit; all are gifts of wisdom.[32] The enthroned Virgin is flanked by two series of figures in the lateral panels: prophets and evangelists in the upper register and virtues in the middle register. The figures in the upper register hold scrolls on which we read biblical citations that were interpreted as prefigurations of the incarnation. Each citation mentions a virtue that is figurally depicted immediately below, in the middle register: *humilitas, prudentia, solitudo, verecundia, virginitas, obedientia.* The virtues also hold scrolls, each one citing some part of the Virgin's response to the Angelic Salutation drawn from Luke 1.28–38. Finally, in the lower register (below the virtues), are the steps leading up to the Throne of Wisdom, six on either side, with a lion on each. Occupying the lower half of the large central panel is a crucifixion scene showing the Virgin and St. John at the foot of the cross.

This crucifixion scene is not found in other visualizations of the Throne of Solomon and, from an art historical perspective, it has proved to be the most enigmatic element in the frontispiece.[33] It may be based, as Karen Gould has suggested, on the Passion and Resurrection reliefs on the west facade of Strasbourg Cathedral, but while the Crucifixion is privileged in that large sculpture program, the grieving Virgin is not.[34] Pucelle may have focused his Crucifixion scene on that particular moment because of Nicholas of Clairvaux's reference to it in his sermon and Richard of St. Laurent's explication. If so, Pucelle's frontispiece privileges Nicolas's and Richard's allegorization of the two lions guarding the throne. According to them, the first lion represented Gabriel, who cared for

dral," *Art Bulletin* 74.1 (1992), pp. 51–74.

30. See Ragusa, "*Terror demonum,*" pp. 93, 106.

31. Other representations of the Throne of Wisdom are discussed in Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon," passim. Jean Pucelle must have known one in particular, the allegorized Throne of Solomon in the *Verger de Soulas* (BnF Ms. fr. 9220, fol. 2), which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century.

32. The arrangement of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit follows Isidore's *Etymologiae,* ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), VII. iii, 13.

33. Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary," *Art Bulletin* 66.1 (March 1984), p. 93.

34. Gould, "Pucelle and Northern Gothic Art," p. 53.

the mind of the Virgin. The throne itself is an allegorization of the Annunciation, and Gabriel's salutation is implied by the responses of the Virgin that can be read on the scrolls held by the virtues (in the middle registers of the panels that flank the throne). The large crucifixion scene may likewise be understood to refer to the second of the two lions, representing St. John at the foot of the cross when he cared for the body of the Virgin. The two lions are represented again at the very center of the frontispiece, in between the throne and the Crucifixion scene, and are labeled "terror demonum" and "terror miserorum."[35] They are explicitly related to the Virgin because they flank a vase, the *vasa electionis,* a traditional figure of the Virgin, and the same sort of vase that holds the triple lily in the Annunciation scene at the end of the manuscript.[36] If my reading of this complex allegorized figure is correct, one nagging question remains: why did Pucelle privilege the two lions above all other elements in this intricate allegorization? The threefold answer I propose here is found in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (in its poetry and textual design, and in the process of meditative reading that he inscribed in the prayers at the end of his collection); in the application of this iconography to secular rulers; and in its adoption by this manuscript's patrons.

Although there is not a single reference to the Virgin as the Throne of Solomon in the 36,000 lines of the *Miracles,* Gautier's rosary cycle offers an excellent model for reading Pucelle's frontispiece and is the best point of departure for a politicized reading of the image.[37] Like Gautier's prayer cycle, the Pucelle frontispiece is designed for meditation. The gaze of the viewer moves, or perhaps meanders, through its different registers and scenes to interpret its iconography, layout, and citations. Both the rosary cycle and the frontispiece revolve around the *Ave Maria,* though Gautier's prayers quote the Angelic Salutation and paraphrase it in the vernacular, while in Pucelle's frontispiece it is evoked only through the typologies and Mary's responses to Gabriel's announcement (cited in the scrolls of the six virtues). Both the rosary and the frontispiece privilege the use of biblical typologies, which are common in manuscript painting, but not in

35. This is the only instance in which the second lion is labeled "terror miserorum," rather than "terror inimicorum" as Rabanus Maurus identified it. For some possible implications of this change, see Ragusa, "*Terror demonum,*" pp. 104–5.

36. The Annunciation scene introduces Gautier's rosary (II Sal 35), fol. 232r.

37. References to the Throne of Solomon are common in Latin hymnology, and are frequent in biblical commentary and the sermon tradition. However, there are limited visual renditions of the figure (the facade of Strasbourg Cathedral is a unique sculptural representation), and in vernacular literature, references are rare. Although Gautier does not mention it in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame,* he does mention another figure of the Virgin that is also associated with the temple of Solomon when he calls her the *sacraire* (tabernacle) of the Holy Spirit. As one might expect, in keeping with the symmetries of the design that so overwhelmingly guides the reading of Gautier's *Miracles,* one of Gautier's references to Mary as the *sacraire* is found in his final song (II Ch 36, vv. 11).

vernacular literature, and are quite rare in vernacular lyric.[38] Finally, both privilege the same crucifixion scene in which Christ gives His grieving mother into the care of John, and John to His mother. The accent that the frontispiece places on the *Stabat mater dolorosa* stands out both in the iconographic tradition of the Throne of Wisdom (Pucelle's frontispiece is the only example of the Throne of Wisdom with such a scene) and in Gautier's Marian collection where it is evoked in the very last prayer (II Prière 42, v. 15).[39] This scene, obliquely evoked in Gautier's final prayer, is explicitly depicted in the frontispiece, mimicking in reverse the treatment of the Angelic Salutation, which is rendered explicitly in the final prayer cycle and obliquely in the frontispiece. The Crucifixion scene is the moral anchor in both the final prayer cycle and in Pucelle's frontispiece. The frontispiece, like the rosary cycle, is thereby shaped by the spiritual aesthetic of the *lectio divina* and the meditations it is meant to direct toward true prayer. Indeed, this method of reading is evident everywhere in the Soissons Manuscript because of the glossing that relates Gautier's stories to Scripture and Patristic writings, setting forth multiple meanings for each legend.[40]

While the rationale for the Crucifixion scene proposed above is iconographically and theologically satisfying, and I have shown that it suits Gautier's Marian collection well, I have not yet explained why it is in this manuscript and no other. This is a royal manuscript and the Throne of Solomon is a royal image. Precedents for the association of Solomon's throne with secular rulers appear as early as the late twelfth century when the emperor Henry IV of Germany was depicted seated in the Throne of Wisdom.[41] Henry III of England, and Edward I as well, may have had it in mind when he commissioned a throne. Indeed, since the tenth century, English sovereigns were anointed as the antiphon *Unxerunt Salomonem* was sung, and from the thirteenth century on, French kings were too.[42] Moreover, during the thirteenth century, when St. Louis went on crusade, he identified with King Solomon, for he built a temple of God, the Sainte Chapelle, to house the famous Passion relics that he acquired in the Holy Land. Daniel Weiss has shown that Solomon's throne and Porch of Judgment are behind the design of the tribune where the Passion relics were displayed in the king's palatine chapel.[43]

38. The budding rod of Aaron appears in Gautier's final song in the *Miracles.* See Duys, "Performing Vernacular Song," pp. 127, 132.

39. Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles,* 4: 591–92.

40. Nancy Black, "An Analysis and Transcription of the Latin Glosses Accompanying Gautier de Coinci's Miracle of the 'Empress of Rome,'" *Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship* 14 (2002), pp. 91–108.

41. Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon," pp. 537–39.

42. *Ordines coronationis franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages,* ed. Richard A. Jackson, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995, 2000), passim.

43. See Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of St. Louis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

St. Louis's Solomonic crusader symbolism would have been potent imagery for Philip VI of Valois to evoke, since Louis had been patron saint of the French monarchy since the reign of Philip IV the Fair, and especially because Philip VI had called for another crusade to take place in 1335 (though it never occurred).[44] Indeed, Anne D. Hedeman has shown that beginning with Philip VI, the Valois had a tradition of tying their own kingship to Louis IX in their *Grandes Chroniques* manuscripts.[45] The Throne of Solomon frontispiece in the Soissons Manuscript stakes a visual claim to legitimacy by a king who sought to be accepted as the heir to the great Capetian king and saint, Louis IX. The association of this manuscript with Philip VI also explains some of the uncommon elements in this Throne of Solomon. The lions on either side of the vase at the center of the image were a personal emblem of Philip VI. The coin he minted was called the *lion d'or* and a lion also appears on his seal.[46] The figure of St. John at the foot of the cross could very well double as reference to Philip's son and heir to the throne, John II the Good, whom he knighted on the feast of St. John.[47]

IV. Philip the Chancellor's *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*

The frontispiece is not the only politicized addition to Gautier's *Miracles;* the Latin sequence by Philip the Chancellor that was added to Gautier's first song cycle has a part in the manuscript's political message as well. The scribes and compilers who put together copies of Gautier's complete Marian collection tended to add pieces, especially songs, to the lyrico-narrative frame that Gautier built around his miracle stories. While new songs were added to other *Miracles* manuscripts, in the Soissons Manuscript there is a marked preference for duplicating Gautier's songs instead. The manuscript's compiler did, however, add one musical piece, the Latin sequence by Philip the Chancellor, *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (see figures 2 through 6). The decision to add a piece by Philip

1998), pp. 1–80, as well as his articles "The Three Solomon Portraits," and "Architectural Symbolism."

44. Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology,* pp. 103–4, 156; Andrew W. Lewis, *Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 183.

45. Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the* Grandes Chroniques de France, *1274–1422* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1991). See her index, p. 334.

46. Christian de Mérindol, "Le livre peint à la fin du Moyen Âge, Support privilégié d'une politique dynastique, familiale ou personnelle: Les *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (B.N., n. a. fr. 24541) et le *Livre d'heures de Pierre II de Bretagne* (B.N., lat. 1159)," *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XVe siècle: Actes du colloque international du CNRS, Paris, 16–18 mai 1992 organisé en l'honneur de Gilbert Ouy,* ed. Monique Ornato and Nicole Pons (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales; Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), p. 509.

47. Mérindol, "Le Livre peint," p. 510.

the Chancellor may not have been as innovative as the choice of the frontispiece was, for no other single poet-musician was more frequently associated with the *Miracles* than Philip the Chancellor. Gautier used the melody of a conductus whose text was written by Philip the Chancellor, *Beata viscera,* for two of his key organizational songs. Both he and Philip were fond of setting the melodies of secular trouvère lyrics to new texts, and favored songs composed by poets of the court of Champagne.[48] Philip was Gautier's exact contemporary and was perhaps briefly Gautier's neighbor while he was archdeacon of Noyon.[49] Furthermore, the sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* and its Old French translation, the lai *Virge glorieuse,* appear five times in four different manuscripts of Gautier's *Miracles.*[50] The compiler could hardly have chosen a piece more appropriate to this manuscript. It is in many respects a standard Marian hymn, listing many figures of the Virgin and asking that she intercede with her Son at the Last Judgment.[51] Buried in the middle of the poem, however, is a reference to Mary as the Throne of Solomon, *Tu thronus Salomonis* (v. 60).[52] Musically and formally, however, this reference to the Throne of Solomon is anything but buried, for it appears right after the piece's highest note, the high A, and the melody leading up to that point has a six-part step-wise structure that recalls the six steps leading up to the Throne of Solomon.

The reference to the Throne of Solomon in this sequence appears in the thirteenth strophe, and the twelve strophes leading up to it divide into pairs, which is typical of the sequence as a genre. The line length in each pair of strophes alternates between short and long although they are only one or two syllables apart (6 or 7 syllables in one line and 7 or 8 in the next), and the melody that these strophes are set to, while very similar from strophe to strophe,

48. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 1st ed., s.v. "Philippe the Chancellor"; and Gautier de Coinci, *Les Chansons à la Vierge de Gautier de Coinci,* ed. Jacques Chailley, Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie 15 (Paris: Heugel, 1959), pp. 49–68. In fact, both Gautier and Philip composed contrafacts of Blondel de Nesle's *L'amors dont suis espris.* My thanks to Edward Roesner for his support of this project, and especially of my work on Philip the Chancellor.

49. Gautier was prior of St. Leocadia when he composed the *Miracles,* and was located a few kilometers from Soissons in Vic-sur-Aisne, a town along the Roman road between Soissons and Noyon. He mentions visiting the monks of St. Eloi de Noyon, as well as his dear friend and collaborator, Robert de Dives, who was prior of St. Blaise de Noyon. However, it is thought that Philip was mostly in Paris while he held the position of archdeacon of Noyon.

50. The Latin piece appears in the Soissons Manuscript as well as in Ms. D (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Mss. 3517 & 3518) and Ms. T (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 551); both the Latin sequence and its translation, the Old French lai, appear in Ms. s (Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 948). Only one lyric piece was more frequently inserted into Gautier's Marian oeuvre, Thibaut d'Amiens's *Hui enfantez,* itself a contrafact of the Latin *Laetebundus* sequence which contains many citations of the original Latin text. *Hui enfrantez* is found in six *Miracles de Nostre Dame* manuscripts.

51. This piece and its music are edited and translated in *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia,* ed. Gordon A. Anderson, Gesamtausgaben 10, vol. 6 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), pp. 107–8.

52. "Thou art the throne of Solomon," *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus,* p. 108.

moves one or two notes higher as the piece progresses through its first twelve strophes.[53] Finally, the strophes with longer lines alternate with those whose melody goes higher, creating a step-wise structure that divides into six: the second pair of strophes has longer lines than the first, the melody of the third pair goes one note higher, the fourth pair of strophes has longer lines than the third pair; the melody of the fifth pair goes two notes higher, and so on. Finally, the sixth paired strophes mark the melodic high point of the piece, the high A, which is two steps higher than the high note in the fifth pair of strophes.

In the thirteenth strophe of *Ave gloriosa virginum regina,* Philip the Chancellor radically changed its verse structure and melody, abandoning the five-verse strophes of his first twelve strophes in favor of short, rapid couplets.[54] After eight of these couplets, which also divide into pairs, the sequence returns to the five-verse strophe for four more strophes, which again divide into pairs.[55] The high note of the first part of the sequence, the high A, returns in the central section of the piece right after the reference to the Throne of Solomon, and again in the piece's third section, when the stepwise structure of the first section returns. The final section reverses the ascending movement of the first section, and descends, ending with a low A, the same note that the piece begins with.

Did Philip the Chancellor intend to depict the Throne of Solomon melodically? He would have known of the six steps leading up to the throne because they are described in the Bible and their importance was noted beginning in the ninth century with the writings of Rabanus Maurus. On the other hand, many aspects of this piece that contribute to its six steps are common features of the sequence. We may never know for sure if Philip the Chancellor intentionally used those features to emulate the six steps of Solomon's throne. We do know, however, that the Notre Dame sequence was one of the musical genres whose particular evolution is linked to Philip the Chancellor, so the question may be moot.[56]

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53. The verse structure and high notes of the first twelve (six pairs) strophes are as follows:

I a and b: 6a6b6a6b7b (high note: C)
II a and b: 8a6b8a6b7b (high note C)
III a and b: 7ababb (High note: D)
IV a and b: 8a6b8a6b7b (high note: D)
V a and b: 8a7b8b7cc (high note F)
VI a and b: 8aaa7bb (high note: A)

54. The verse structures for strophes VII a and b and VIII a and b are 7aa, and for IX a and b and X a and b, they are 8a7b.

55. The verse structure of strophes XI a and b are 8aaa7bb (like strophes VI a and b; note, however, that the b strophe in the eleventh pair is omitted from the Soissons Manuscript); and XII a and b are 6abab7b (like strophes I a and b).

56. Thomas Blackburn Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip The Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School," PhD dissertation, 5 vols., University of Chicago, 1991, 1: 162–72.

By adding this particular piece to the *Miracles* in this manuscript, the compiler once again acknowledged the basic principles of design that govern Gautier's collection. As he politicized the reading of the work, he answered literary typology with visual typology, vernacular song with Latin sequence, choosing the single most appropriate piece to add to the collection for both Gautier and Philip IV of Valois. Indeed, Philip the Chancellor is known for having composed highly political occasional pieces, including one conductus that comments critically on the German succession crisis of the early thirteenth century, and another, dated 1223, for the coronation of Louis VIII.[57] Philip's Throne of Solomon sequence is not considered a datable work, but considering Weiss's recent association of Solomonic imagery with Louis XI, it is not impossible that the sequence might have been composed for the young king, who was crowned in 1226. The political potency of the musical pieces of Philip the Chancellor endured, for fourteen of his works were inserted in whole or in part into the interpolated *Fauvel,* a satirical work that is closely tied to the French succession crisis of 1316. It was the resolution of that crisis that cleared the way for Philip VI of Valois to be crowned in 1328.[58]

V. Patron Images

I have argued here that the Solomonic imagery in the frontispiece and in the Latin sequence of Philip the Chancellor are visual, verbal, and melodic declarations of dynastic continuity between the great Capetian saint and king, Louis IX, and the first Valois. It was a dynastic manuscript, perhaps even propaganda, but was it ever overtly polemical like the interpolated *Fauvel,* which also harnessed the lyrical and musical genius of Philip the Chancellor? Recently Christian de Mérindol has related the Soissons Manuscript to the succession crisis of 1316 by associating the patron images at the end of the manuscript with the last Capetians and the first Valois.[59] In fact, because the portraits at the end of the Soissons Manuscript are not veristic, the determination that the book is a royal French codex rests on the gold fleurs-de-lis on a blue field in the background

57. The coronation song is *Beata nobis gaudia reduxit,* and the piece that criticizes the German succession crisis of the early thirteenth century is *Rex et sacderdos prefuit.* See Payne, "Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony," 1:112–16; 127–28; and Leo Schrade, "Political Compositions in French Music of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: The Coronation of French Kings," *Annales Musicologiques* 1 (1953), pp. 9–63.

58. Indeed, Philip's *Mundus a mundicia* (World full of filth) was interpolated into the romance on its very first folio.

59. Christian de Mérindol, "Le Livre peint," and his "Portrait et généalogie: La genèse du portrait réaliste et individualisé," in *Population et démographie au Moyen Âge,* ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris: CTHS, 1995), pp. 219–48.

of the initial author portrait (fol. 2r) and on the generic depictions of kings and queens in the final prayer cycle (fols. 232v, 234r, 235v, 237r, 238v, 241r, 242r, 243r, 243v). This manuscript's dating is based on a comparison to other known manuscripts of Jean Pucelle, which places it after 1327 and before the artist's death in 1333 or 1334,[60] a period that corresponds to the first years of the reign of Philip VI and Jeanne of Burgundy. Because there are more queens than kings depicted at the end of the manuscript, it has been assumed that the manuscript was a gift from a king to his queen. Finally, because Jeanne of Burgundy is known to have been a great book lover, she has been considered the most likely recipient of this work.[61] Christian de Mérindol has suggested that these portraits might represent not only Philip of Valois and his first wife, Jeanne, but the seven kings and queens that preceded him, the last Capetians: 1) Clemence of Hungary, 2) Philip V, 3) Jeanne of Burgundy, 4) Charles IV, 5) Blanche of Burgundy, 6) Marie of Luxembourg, 7) Jeanne of Evreux, 8) Philip VI of Valois, and 9) Jeanne of Burgundy.[62]

Mérindol's reinterpretation of these patron portraits answers a number of questions satisfactorily, but it raises many more.[63] One wonders why Philip VI would choose to have the representation of the Capetian line begin with a woman. Why begin with a foreign-born queen who had married into the house of France only months before her husband, Louis X, died? Why would her baby, John I, be excluded when he had actually been king, albeit briefly? These questions lead into the thick of the succession crisis, for when Louis died, he had no male issue, just a four-year-old daughter, Jeanne of Navarre, born of his first wife, Margaret of Burgundy. Since Margaret had been accused of adultery in 1314 along with the wives of Louis's two brothers, the legitimacy of the four-year-old Jeanne was suspect.[64] Louis courted Clemence quickly while Margaret was in prison, and he married her just three months after Mar-

60. The Soissons Manuscript is judged on stylistic grounds to postdate the artist's two signed works, the Belleville Breviary, made between 1323 and 1326, and the Billyng Bible, dated 1327. Jean Pucelle died between 1333 and 1334; see Françoise Baron, "Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIVe et XVe siècles, d'après les archives de l'hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," in *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques,* n. s. 6 (1970), pp. 87–88, 112.

61. Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V,* 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1907), 1: 203, and Focillon, *Le Peintre,* p. 10. The manuscript has at various times been thought to correspond to a book purchased by Charles IV for Joan of Evreux, but that view is no longer held. See Black, "Images of the Virgin," p. 255.

62. Mérindol, "Le Livre peint," p. 508, and his "Portrait et généalogie," p. 237.

63. Mérindol's argument answers the following questions satisfactorily: Why so many portraits? Why nine, when there are eleven or twelve pieces in the final prayer cycle that might have been headed by an image? Why is the regular alternation of queens and kings broken with a series of three queens in the middle?

64. Jeanne of Burgundy, the wife of Philip V, was also accused in 1314; she was eventually exonerated. Blanche of Burgundy, the first wife of Charles IV, was likewise accused. She was repudiated in 1322.

garet's suspiciously convenient death on July 31. The marriage had virtually no celebration—no feasting, no dancing, nothing.[65] On August 3 they were crowned.[66] Louis died just eleven months later, leaving Clemence pregnant. While France waited for the birth, Philip of Poitiers (the future Philip V) positioned himself to take the crown. On July 16 and 17, less than two weeks after Louis's death, Philip negotiated a treaty with the house of Burgundy that removed women from the succession and put him in line for the throne.[67] He definitively eliminated Jeanne of Navarre, and Clemence's child, were it to be a girl. If she were to bear a son, Philip would be regent. On November 13 or 14, the queen gave birth to John I the Posthumous, but he died a few days later. As the infant's guardian, Philip appointed his mother-in-law, Mahaut of Artois, who was later rumored to have had designs on the child.[68] The treaty Philip had negotiated covered every eventuality except the birth and subsequent death of a boy, so a crisis ensued. Nevertheless, on January 9, Philip V was crowned in Reims. His right to the throne had been challenged by his uncle Charles of Valois, Edward II king of England (himself a peer of France), and by Eudes of Burgundy on behalf of little Jeanne, among others. Jeanne's maternal grandmother, Agnes of France (dowager duchess of Burgundy and daughter of St. Louis), even asserted the girl's rights at the coronation itself.[69] Only two peers attended the coronation, Charles of Valois and Mahaut of Artois, Philip's uncle and mother-in-law.[70] This first indirect succession to the throne prepared the way for the succession of Philip VI just twelve years later after the early deaths of both Philip V and his brother Charles IV.

If the aim of the manuscript was to legitimize the Valois line, as Mérindol

65. Nancy Freeman Regalado, "The *Chronique Métrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil," *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français* 146, ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 492. The contemporary chronicle is the *Chronique métrique,* which is found in the same manuscript as the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, BnF Ms. fr. 146).

66. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis:* Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel,*" *Fauvel Studies,* pp. 62, 65.

67. Note that only custom, not the Salic Law, was cited at this time. It was only in 1358, when the rights of succession of the future Charles V were questioned, that the Salic Law was finally cited.

68. Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Ceremonial of Royal Succession in Capetian France: The Double Funeral of Louis X," *Traditio* 34 (1978), p. 264n151. Charles Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy 1224–1328* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 57n52; Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, roi de France (1316–1322)* (Paris: Hachette, 1897), pp. 75–76, and Jules-Marie Richard, *Une petite-nièce de Saint Louis: Mahaut, comtesse d'Artois et de Bourgogne (1302–1329)* (Paris: Champion, 1887), p. 64n4. Mahaut d'Artois was also suspected, and formally accused, but finally acquitted of having poisoned Louis X.

69. Leofranc Holford-Strevens, "The Latin Dits of Geffroy de Paris: An *Editio Princeps,*" *Fauvel Studies,* p. 251.

70. Though there is some doubt whether Charles of Valois attended. Lewis, *Royal Succession,* p. 189. Andrew Wathey, "Gervès du Bus, *Le Roman de Fauvel,* and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court," in *Fauvel Studies,* p. 609.

claims, why include the repudiated Blanche of Burgundy in the sequence of kings and queens? Mérindol notes that the figure he associates with Blanche is veiled, which would correspond to her decision to become a nun after Charles IV annulled their marriage in 1322. Her deeply bowed head, Mérindol notes, reflects her humility (or humiliation?) once she was repudiated.[71] Furthermore, the image of Blanche is crowned even though she was never crowned queen.

The questions raised by Mérindol's identification of the patron portraits in the Soissons Manuscript do one of two things: either they invalidate his hypothesis, or they render the dynastic politics of the Soissons Manuscript highly polemical. Without conclusive proof to decide the issue, one may entertain both possibilities. If Mérindol's identifications are incorrect, then the manuscript remains a strong statement on the legitimacy of Philip VI's reign. The frontispiece and the Philip the Chancellor sequence ensure that. The fact that the frontispiece was tipped-in reinforces the argument, suggesting that it was specifically requested by the patron for this book.

If Mérindol is correct, then the patron portraits explicitly engage the greatest controversies in the succession crisis: the indirect succession of Philip V after the birth and death of Clemence's son when Jeanne of Navarre was removed from the line of succession and all women thereafter. It may also engage the scandal in which the three daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair were accused of adultery, which undermined Jeanne of Navarre's legitimacy. The treaty that Philip V negotiated on July 16 and 17, 1316 that excluded women from succeeding to the French throne effectively ended the Capetian line. Because of that treaty, Jeanne was passed over, as were the four daughters of Philip V, and the two surviving daughters of Charles IV, and Isabelle of France, the one daughter of Philip IV the Fair. It also eliminated the two later challenges, the most serious male contenders to the throne, Charles of Navarre (son of Jeanne of Navarre) and Edward III (son of Isabelle of France), because they were descended through women.[72] As a direct consequence of the elimination of women from the line of succession accomplished by the 1316 treaty, Philip VI of Valois ascended to the throne of France, as did his son and grandson.

If the Soissons Manuscript engages the succession crisis that allowed Philip VI to take the throne, it could be conceived as a companion piece to the interpolated *Roman de Fauvel.* The *Fauvel* manuscript (BnF fr. 146) famously

71. Geffroy de Paris's *Chronique métrique* notes that Blanche was not nearly as penitent as her cousin, Margaret of Burgundy. See *La Chronique métrique attribuée; Texte publié avec introduction et glossaire,* ed. Armel Diverès, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 129 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1956), vv. 5999–6003. Furthermore, the two figures after that whom Mérindol identifies with Blanche also have bowed heads, which Mérindol does not explain.

72. Neither was present at Philip's coronation, however. Edward had only just acceded to the English throne the year before and Charles of Navarre was not yet born. In 1358, they challenged the right of Charles V, the grandson of Philip VI, to inherit the throne.

addresses a harsh *admonitio* to Philip V from the poets and musicians of the royal chancellery. The Soissons Manuscript uses the same idiom as the interpolated *Fauvel*—sophisticated textual design, carefully manipulated page layout, iconography laden with political overtones, and inserted lyrics (especially those of Philip the Chancellor) exploited for their capacity to polemicize. The sequence of Philip the Chancellor in the Soissons manuscript is likewise Marian, and casts the Virgin as queen of heaven: *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (v. 1). At the center of the piece Philip calls her *Tu thronus Salomonis* (v. 60), and says that it is *she* who is first among the thrones of heaven: *prelata celi thronis* (v. 61).[73] If Philip did compose this piece with Louis IX in mind, he might have considered Blanche of Castile, regent and mother, as another queen who enthrones the future king. And while Solomon was St. Louis's preferred Old Testament king, his allegorized throne is a feminized image. It depicts the enthroned Virgin with her infant son on her lap, the king of kings who was never fully accepted during his lifetime.

If indeed the Soissons Manuscript addresses the same crisis as the interpolated *Fauvel,* it opens up many venues of research between these two codices and numerous others. For example, the Empress of Rome miracle, the longest of Gautier's miracle stories, is extensively glossed in the Soissons Manuscript. Only one other *Miracles* manuscript, Ms. N (BnF fr. 25532), provides glossing for this miracle, and the difference between the two is striking. Ms. N has only eight glosses for that legend, while the Soissons Manuscript has ninety-eight. Nancy Black has argued that rather than presenting sources for the legend, the glosses form a parallel text that promotes a moral interpretation of the story.[74] For example, the opening of the miracle story focuses on *sagesse* (wisdom), but the first glosses pick up on the first *annominatio* figure in Gautier's narrative, which revolves around the word *doute* (fear). Wisdom is a subject that returns often in the glosses, and 18 of the 98 are attributed to Solomon, harkening directly back to the manuscript's frontispiece and offering further reason to examine the connection between this manuscript, its patron, and the defense of royal women.

Mérindol's identification of the kings and queens at the end of the manuscript heightens the importance of the royal symbolism in the Soissons manuscript in many areas: the Throne of Solomon frontispiece, the Latin sequence, the Annunciation iconography (especially the *fleur-de-lis),* and the Empress

73. "Thou art the throne of Solomon, first among the thrones of heaven" (my translation). Anderson, *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus,* p. 108.

74. In "A Transcription," Black notes that the glosses are quotations from ancient texts and were probably made with two principal sources, the Vulgate Bible and an eighth-century florilegium widely used in monasteries for centuries known as the Scintillae of Defensor of Ligugé. *See Defensoris Liber Scintillarum,* ed. H. M. Rochais, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 117 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957).

miracle with its moral glossing. Indeed, it even suggests that the prominent *Stabat mater dolorosa* scene in the frontispiece, which depicts the Virgin and St. John at the foot of the cross, is a reference to John II the Good, the only male heir to the French throne to survive childhood for a quarter century. It may also explain why John II took this book with him to the Battles of Poitiers in 1356 where he lost it to the English. Finally, it would explain why Charles V made the effort to buy it back from the English: just as his right to succeed to the throne was questioned in 1358, the Salic Law was "resurrected" (or perhaps invented) to eliminate women definitively from the line of succession to the French throne. When his succession was assured by the Salic Law, the Valois dynasty, already two decades old, was at long last secure.

The Soissons Manuscript provokes tantalizing theories that subtly engage the politico-sexual intrigue of the last Capetians and early Valois, making it appear to be an answer to the harsh satire of the interpolated *Fauvel.* However, we cannot yet test this hypothesis to know with certainty if this is true. The more modest reading of the manuscript as a legitimizing statement of Philip VI of Valois rests on firm ground. His well-established tendency to use the very religious symbols and iconography that we find in the Soissons Manuscript to bolster his own legitimacy places this manuscript not only alongside the interpolated *Fauvel* but alongside other manuscripts of the *Miracles* owned by members of the court of France, and alongside the many manuscripts of the *Grandes Chroniques* that Anne D. Hedeman has studied for precisely these issues.[75] Whether we consider the polemics of the succession crises of the fourteenth century or simply the dynastic concerns of the Valois, the Soissons Manuscript presents us with a valuable lesson in the development of reading techniques in the vernacular. In the early thirteenth century, Gautier de Coinci took a bold step in adapting the *lectio divina* to recreational uses in a close-knit group of wellborn pious men and women. His innovation represents a first step that opened the way for the rapid development of complex literary reading strategies. In the fourteenth century, the Soissons Manuscript adapts Gautier's *Miracles* to a new period, place, and public, and ties it to their personal dynastic and political concerns.

75. Hedeman, *The Royal Image,* pp. 51–92.

APPENDIX

The Throne of Wisdom in the Pucelle Frontispiece (I Kings 10.18–20/II Chronicles 9.17–19)

CENTRAL PANEL

Upper register (The 7 gifts of the Holy Spirit, Isaiah 11.2–3 & I Corinthians 12.1–11):

Spiritus fortitudinis

Spiritus consilii — Spiritus sciencie

Spiritus intellectus — Spiritus pietatis

Spiritus sapientiae — Spiritus timoris

Duplex operatio spiritus sancti (two hands holding the chair)

BLESSED VIRGIN MARY + THE CHRIST CHILD

(seated on a throne that is itself fashioned as *ecclesia* w/two tiny people peeking out)

Caritas (crowned) — Castitas or Pietas? (crowned)

Lower register: Terror demonum (Lion)—Vase—Terror miserorum (Lion)

CRUCIFIXION

Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist at the foot of the cross (John 20.25–27)

LATERAL PANELS

Upper register (on either side of the enthroned Virgin):

5a. Isaiah:	Super quem requiescat spiritus nisi *humilem* [On whom should the Holy Spirit rest if not humility]
3a. St. Peter:	Estote *prudentes* et vigilitate in orationibus (I Peter 4.7) [Be prudent and vigilant in your prayers]
1a. Hosea:	Ducam eam in *solitudinem* et loquar ad cor ejus (Hosea 2.14) [I shall lead her in solitude and speak to her heart]
2a. Sirach:	Gracia super graciam mulier casta et *pudorata* (Ecclesiasticus 26.19) [Grace upon grace falls on a chaste and modest woman]
4a. St. Paul:	*Virgo* cogitat que Domini sunt (I Cor. 7.34) [The virgin thinks of the affairs of God]
6a. Samuel:	Melior est *obediencia* quam victime (I Samuel 15.22) [Obedience is better than sacrifice]

Middle register (on either side of the enthroned Virgin and the Crucifixion):

5. Humilitas:	Ecce ancilla domini (Luke 1.38)
	[Behold the handmaiden of the Lord.]
3. Prudentia:	Quomodo fiet istud (Luke 1.34)—crowned
	[How will that be done?]
1. Solitudo:	Ingressus angelus ad eam (Luke 1.28)
	[The angel came in unto her.]
2. Verecundia:	Turbata est in sermone eius (Luke 1.29)
	[She was troubled at his words.]
4. Virginitas:	Virum non cognosco (Luke 1.34)
	[I know not man.]
6. Obedentia:	Fiat michi secundum verbum tuum (Luke 1.38)
	[Let it be done unto me according to thy word.]

Lower register (on either side of the Crucifixion leading up to the enthroned Virgin):
Six lions of Solomon on left of the 6 steps
Six more lions of Solomon on right of the 6 steps

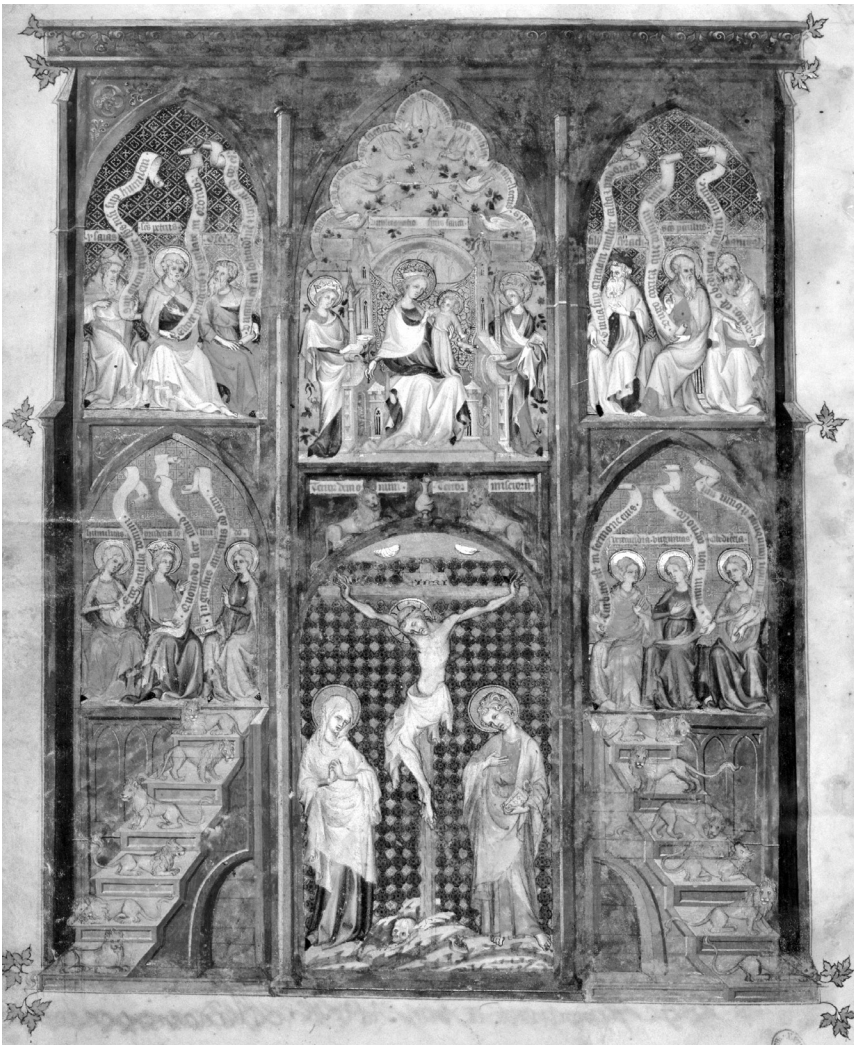

Figure 1: Frontispiece of the Soissons Manuscript. BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541, fol. Av. (Photo BnF)

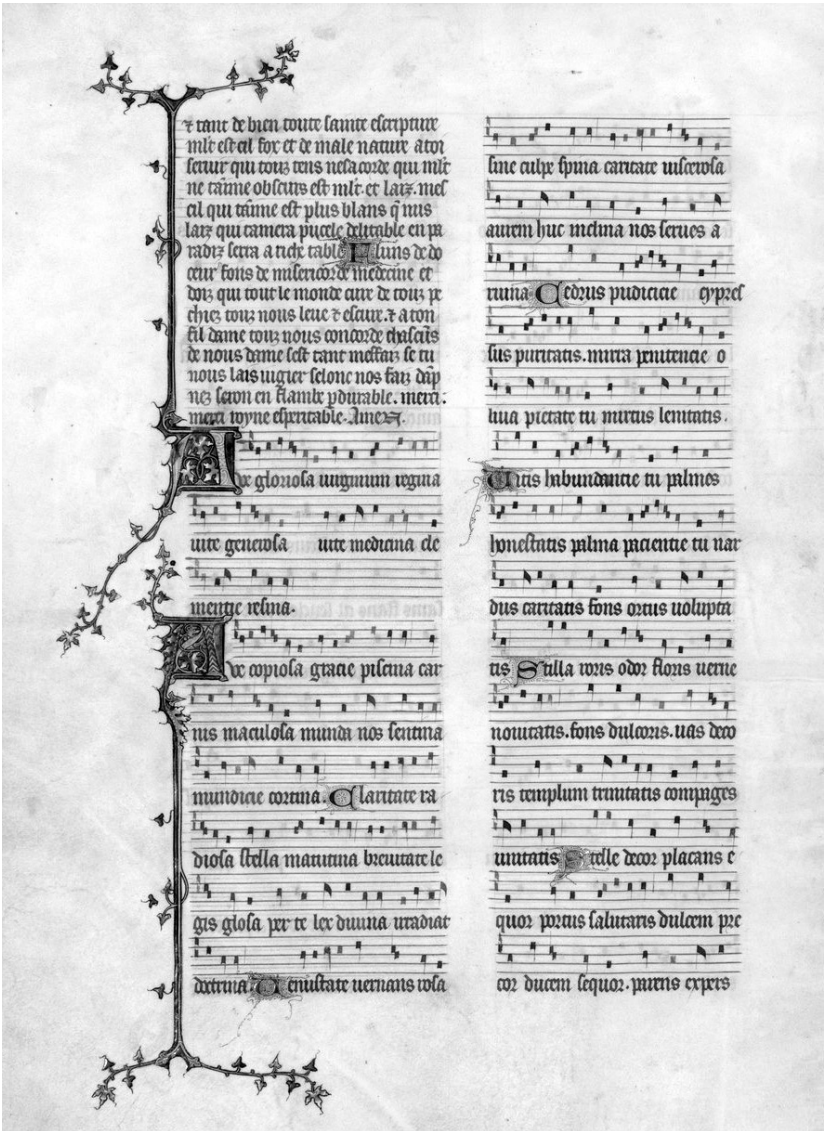

Figure 2: Philip the Chancellor's Latin sequence, "Ave gloriosa virginum regina," added to the Miracles de Nostre Dame in the Soissons Manuscript. BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 7v. (Photo BnF)

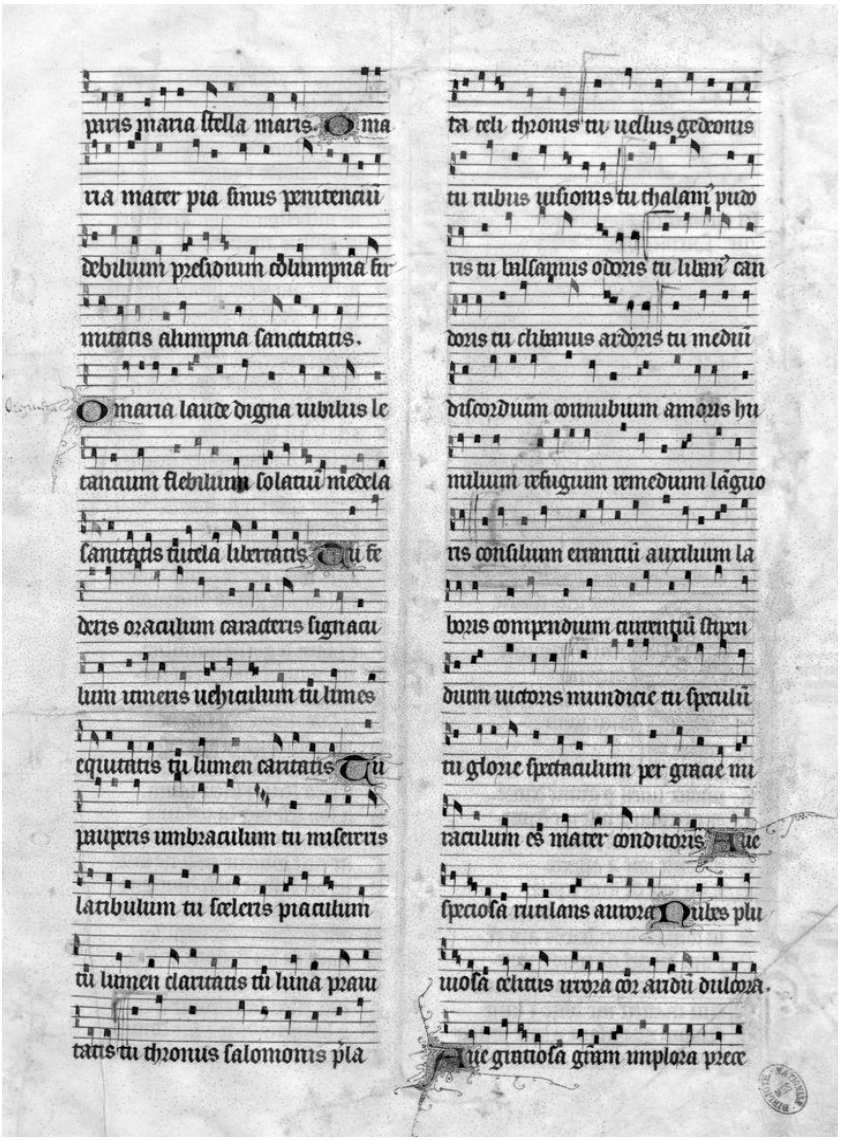

Figure 3: Philip the Chancellor's Latin sequence, "Ave gloriosa virginum regina," added to the Miracles de Nostre Dame in the Soissons Manuscript. BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 8r. (Photo BnF)

Figure 4: Philip the Chancellor's Latin sequence, "Ave gloriosa virginum regina," added to the Miracles de Nostre Dame in the Soissons Manuscript. BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 24541, fol. 8v. (Photo BnF)

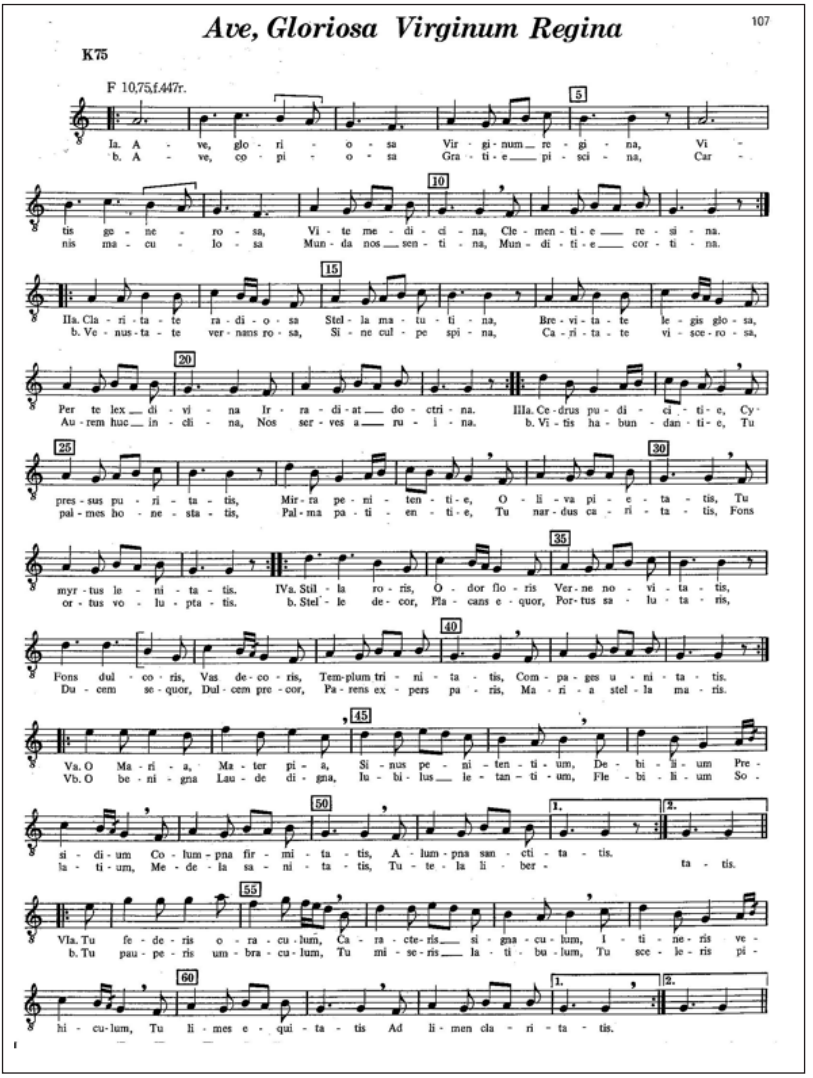

Figure 5: "Ave gloriosa virginum regina" by Philip the Chancellor, reproduced from *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia,* ed. Gordon A. Anderson, Gesamtausgaben no. 10, vol. 6 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), p. 107.

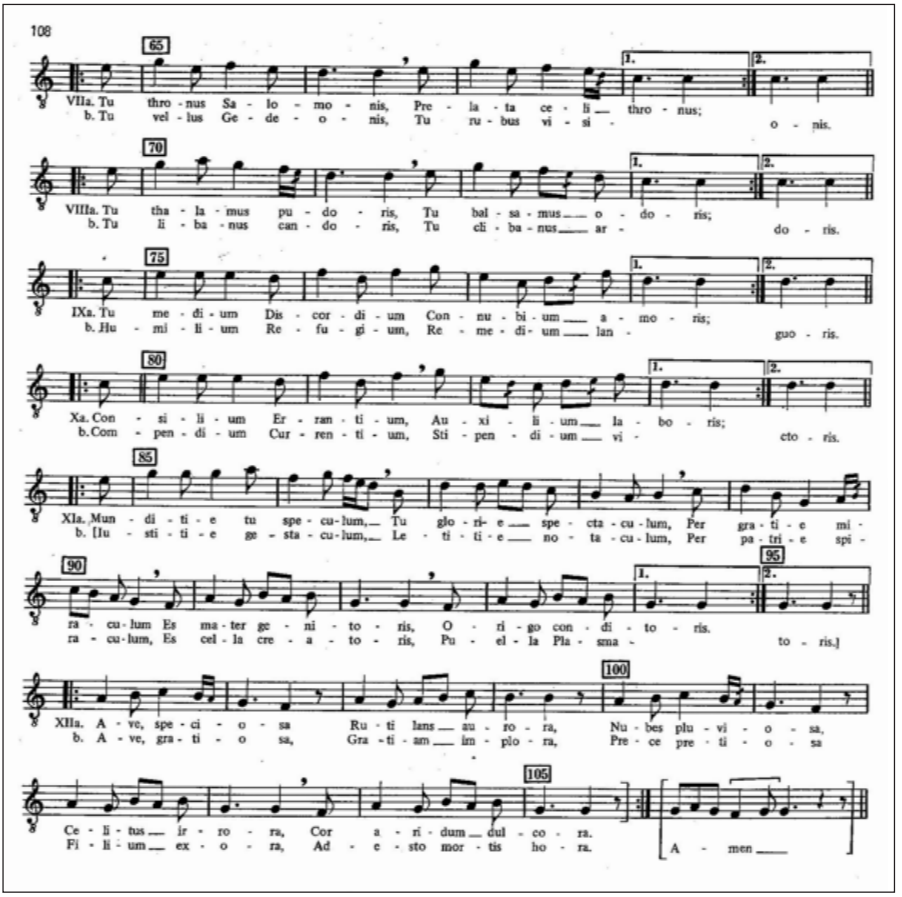

Figure 6: "Ave gloriosa virginum regina" by Philip the Chancellor, reproduced from *Notre Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia,* ed. Gordon A. Anderson, Gesamtausgaben no. 10, vol. 6 (Henryville, PA: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979), p. 108.

CHAPTER 12

The *Prato fiorito,* the *Selva di cose diverse,* and Other Compilations by Suor Fiammetta Frescobaldi

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Fiammetta Frescobaldi (1523–86) was born in Florence on January 17, 1523, one of the six children of Lamberto Frescobaldi and Francesca Morelli.[1] She was christened Brigida but took the name Fiammetta when, in November 1535, she entered the Dominican convent of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence, where she lived for 50 years, until her death in 1586.[2] As the convent's chronicle tells us, she was self-taught and had a keen mind and memory.[3] In her early twenties she became crippled, and, in order to make herself useful, she began to write for the edification and recreation of her convent sisters. In this chapter I will discuss Frescobaldi's work, the genres she knew and imitated, especially those that were compilations of materials she found in other writers, translated, and/or synthesized, and I will examine her style of ordering the materials she col-

1. Giovanna Pierattini, in a series of contributions to the journal *Memorie domenicane,* has provided a brief overview of the history of the Frescobaldi family, a biography of Fiammetta Frescobaldi, and a brief discription of her extant works: G. Pierattini, "Suor Fiammetta Frescobaldi cronista del monastero domenicano di Sant'Iacopo a Ripoli in Firenze (1523–1586)," *Memorie domenicane,* 56 (1939), pp. 101–16, 233–40; 57 (1940), pp. 106–11, 260–69; 58 (1941), pp. 28–38, 74–84, 226–34, 258–68.

2. Florence, Archivio di Stato [ASF], Montalve, San Jacopo di Ripoli, 23, *Libro di croniche segnato A* (1508–1778). A traditional Dominican chronicle, it includes the professions, the prioresses, and the necrology; at the end of the book are appended the dates of entry and clothing (*vestizione*) of the nuns. The necrology contains brief biographies of the nuns. Frescobaldi's *vestizione* took place on January 1536, two months after her entry, and she professed her vows in July of 1537. See Sharon Strocchia's study of the necrology, especially as evidence of the continued influence of the Savonarolan movement at San Jacopo: S. Strocchia, "Savonarolan Witnesses: The Nuns of San Jacopo and the Piagnone Movement in Sixteenth-Century Florence," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 38.2 (2007), pp. 393–418.

3. ASF, Montalve, San Jacopo di Ripoli, 23, *Libro di croniche,* fols. 137v–138r.

lected. I will devote my attention especially to three works that belong to a genre that had become very popular in mid-sixteenth century Italy when Frescobaldi was writing, a genre generally known as the *selva* (or *silva,* in Latin) in which diverse materials are collected without any clear notion of order.[4]

Frescobaldi's convent, San Jacopo di Ripoli, had been the site of one of the earliest printing presses operating in Florence; there the nuns, working together with two Dominican friars, printed approximately one hundred books (nearly half were secular works) during the years 1476–84. It is not known how many of those books, if any, remained in the convent archive, but we do know that there was a place in the convent for books, since Fiammetta Frescobaldi, in a note of ownership attached to one of her volumes, writes: "This [book] belongs to the nuns of S. Jacopo called Ripoli, [it was] made for the convent and assigned to the bookcase in the cemetery, which is the archive of our convent, where it must be conserved with the others so that the nuns may enjoy it when they like. Take good care of it and put it back in its assigned place. I wrote it and gave it to the convent. Remember me sometimes with a sigh to our Lord Jesus. 1584."[5] Frescobaldi herself had purchased a bookcase (*armadio*) for the convent in 1582.[6] This was unusual; women's religious communities in Italy at the time did not normally have libraries. In most convents, nuns had only their personal books. The need for a bookcase, or a new bookcase in 1582 was clearly owing to the many books Frescobaldi wrote and those she obtained through relatives and friends, and which she acknowledges as sources of the materials in her compilations. She translated many of them, or at least selected passages, from Latin into the vernacular, and from those texts and others she took accounts of the most memorable events, sermons, *exempla,* saints' lives, geographical descriptions, descriptions of monuments—whatever she thought could be of interest and benefit to her convent sisters, who were less learned than she, who knew little Latin, if any, and who were occupied with convent chores or administration and had very little leisure time. Each of Frescobaldi's works begins with an

4. See Paolo Cherchi, "La selva rinascimentale," in *Ricerche sulle selve rinascimentali* (Ravenna: Longo, 1999), for a definition of the genre, especially pp. 9–13.

5. "Delle monache di San Jacopo, detto Ripoli, dato in convento e assegnato allo armario di cimiterio che è lo archivo di questo nostro monasterio ove con gli altri si de' conservare acciò le suore ne possino havere contento a·lloro posta, ma sien contente haverne buona cura et rimetterlo dove è assegnato. È di me che l'ò fatto e dato in convento, talvolta si degnino ricordarsi con dare un sospiro a Giesú nostro Signore per me. Dato l'anno 1584." Le Sieci, Archivio Frescobaldi, *Cose prodigiose e calamitose del mondo, cominciando dal diluvio infino ai tempi nostri,* part III, unnumbered initial page. The date on the colophon is 1578. This translation and all that follow are mine.

6. "A dua venne lo armadio fatto per tenervi drento libri latini e vulgari e scritti a mano per consolazione delle suore. Costa scudi cinque, fatto da mia fatiche et di amorevoleze havute da parenti, posto in cimiterio come si vede." *Cronica del sacro ordine di santo Domenico. In particulare de' conventi e monasterii di esso ordine nella alma città di Firenze, massimo di quel di Santa Maria Novella e di San Jacopo vocato Ripoli* (Florence, Archivio di Santa Maria Novella [ASMN], I.B.66, fol. 113v).

address to the reader—some with a dedication as well, and her paratexts always include metaliterary statements in which she introduces herself, her subject matter and method, the purpose and audience of her work, and usually names her sources (if not there, she scrupulously names them later). Most of her works are collections and most of their titles (though not all) make this clear.

Frescobaldi produced several volumes of saints' lives, five volumes (in nine parts) of descriptions of the entire known world, a digest (in eight volumes) of Guicciardini's *History of Italy* (a work that unfortunately is lost), and she wrote two chronicles of the Dominican order from its founding to the sixteenth century. The first treats especially the Florentine Dominican friary of Santa Maria Novella; in the other, which, in my opinion, is a revision and continuation of the first, she devotes most of her attention to the history of her convent of San Jacopo. The materials she collected for these works have a central organizing theme or chronology, however full they may be of digressions, one of the specialties of her inquiring mind. Frescobaldi also wrote works in a genre, the subject of this essay, which was a sort of florilegium, or anthology, but without a logical structural principle or theme governing the choice and organization of materials in the collection.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy a collection of this sort was often called, a *selva* (in Latin, *silva,* meaning a forest); some were called a *giardino* (garden), a *prato* (field), or similar vernacular or Latin variations on the theme; others were more literally entitled *miscellanies,* or *varie historie* (varied histories or various stories). This genre has ancient origins. In its better-known, popular form, a miscellaneous collection of prose and poetry, its most authoritative model is Aulus Gellius's *Noctes Atticae,* a collection of many short chapters on a great variety of topics: philosophy, history, law, grammar, literary criticism, textual questions, and many others. There was also a related, but more erudite, form called a *sylva* or *selva,* whose classical antecedent is Statius' *Silvae.* This genre is really quite different from the other. First of all, it is entirely in somewhat loosely structured verse that gives the impression of improvisation, but is, instead, a highly studied form. We find examples of this in the writing of early humanists, the best known being Poliziano's *Silvae,* written in Latin, and Lorenzo de' Medici's *Selve,* written in the vernacular.[7]

Fiammetta Frescobaldi's work belongs to the popular form of the genre, whose more immediate model was a Spanish collection, the work of Pedro Mexía, the *Silva de varia lección,* a compilation of excerpts, short works, pas-

7. Poliziano made Statius's *Silvae* the subject of his first university lecture; he called it *indigesta materia.* See Charles Fantazzi's "Introduction" to his edition of Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. ix. On Lorenzo's *Selve,* style and history, see the introduction to the text of the poem by Tiziano Zanato in his edition, Lorenzo de' Medici, *Opere* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), pp. 437–46.

sages taken from a variety of authors, which was first published in Seville in 1540, again in 1543, and in an enlarged edition in 1550. It was immediately successful and had thirty-two editions in Spain by the end of the century, twenty or so in Italy in translation, even more in French (around thirty), five in English, and four in German.[8] Mexía wrote that he called his work a *silva,* because in forests (*selvas*) the plants and trees are distributed "without order or rule" ("en las selvas o bosques están las plantas y árboles sin orden ni regla").[9] When Fiammetta Frescobaldi began to write, in the late 1560s, Mexía's work was already very well known in Italy and had spawned a lively tradition of *selve* or *silvae,* most often collections of works whose original authors were not acknowledged, what we would today call plagiaries.

Frescobaldi wrote three works that belong to this genre. However, unlike her contemporaries, she always acknowledged her sources, and she rewrote them for her purposes in a style that is unmistakably her own. She wrote a *Selva di cose diverse* (A Forest of various things, dated 1585), a *Prato fiorito, ovvero giardino d'esempi* (Field of flowers or garden of examples, 1575), and the *Cose prodigiose e calamitose del mondo cominciando dal diluvio infino ai tempi nostri* (Things extraordinary and disastrous in the world, from the Universal Flood till today, finished in 1578 or 79).

I. *Selva* (1562–85)

Frescobaldi compiled her *Selva di cose diverse* over a period of approximately twenty years, from 1562, when she began, until 1585, the year before her death. This long span of over twenty years provides an insight into her understanding of the genre as an open-ended collection to which she could add material she liked without concern for its appropriateness to a central topic or place in an order. She seems to have stopped only when the material was so large that it needed to be bound.[10] The *Selva* opens with this statement: "This book is entitled a *selva* of various and diverse readings, of many things that should, in truth, not be disparaged by anyone who would like to know about an infinite number of things, ancient and modern, collected at various times from many different authors."[11] And her *Selva,* as she claims, contains numerous and quite

8. Paolo Cherchi, "La selva rinascimentale," p. 12.

9. Paolo Cherchi, "La selva rinascimentale," p. 13.

10. This is the explanation she gives for terminating her first chronicle. See F. Frescobaldi, *Cronica del sacro ordine de' frati predicatori,* Florence, ASMN, I.B.65, fol. 216r.

11. "Questo libro si intitola una selva di variate e diverse lezioni, di tante cose invero da non essere disprezzate da chi è desideroso di havere notizia di una infinità di cose antiche et moderne, racolte in varii tempi da diversi e varii autori."

varied texts, for example, an account of the construction of the Florentine cathedral, Santa Maria del Fiore, taken, as she acknowledges, from the first edition of the *Lives of the Artists* by Giorgio Vasari.[12] Alongside this account we find the story of an attempt on the life of Pope Pius IV in 1565, and descriptions of distant parts of the world and customs of ancient peoples, gleaned from books of geography and ancient history. There is also a brief introduction to the Spanish language ("Trattatello di regole sulla lingua spagnola"), a discussion of the decoration of the *guardaroba,* or wardrobe room, in the ducal palace; and her collection concludes with a number of stories about the Kingdom of Naples.

II. *Cose calamitose . . .* (dated 1578)

Another of Frescobaldi's works that I would ascribe to this genre is her *Cose prodigiose e calamitose del mondo cominciando dal diluvio infino ai tempi nostri* (Things extraordinary and disastrous beginning with the Flood and down to our times). In this collection Frescobaldi follows the chronology of universal historians, from whom she took and translated selected stories; she used many sources and cites among others Giovanni Tarcagnota's universal history, *Le historie del mondo* (1562) and Matteo di Giovanni Villani's fourteenth-century *Cronica universale.*[13] In her prologue to the *Cose prodigiose* she says that this work narrates "horrible and frightful things and miserable events" ("cose di orrore, di spavento e miserabili casi"), stories from the past, which, she claims, delight her audience of convent sisters. Her purpose in this work, she writes, is to occupy her mind with serious matters and to be of use to her dear mothers and sisters in Christ, to teach them not to be frightened by the evil they will find in these accounts, but to be inspired by the examples of the actions of good men, which are also depicted. She adds that reading stories of disasters and other horrible events will teach her readers not to praise the past and lament the present, as they commonly do, because they will learn that terrible things occur in all ages; they have never lacked, nor ever will. We condemn the present, she writes, which we experience and feel, and if we praise the past it is because we do not know it, a situation that her work seeks to correct by provid-

12. Frescobaldi writes: "Le sopra dette chose sono cavate de' libri delle Vite de' pictori, schultori e architettori, schritte da Giorgio Vasari. Si stamporno nel 1550, schritte da me nel 1562 il verno che morì la ill. ma Duchessa e i 2 sua figliuoli, il card. don Giovanni e s. don. Gratia [Garzia] e in tal tempo fu la fame (fra tutte le altre adversità orribilissime) e, se non si fussi provisto con far venire del grano, aperto in Firenze quattro canove dove si dà un moggio di pan fatto per ciaschuna, ogni dí sarebbe morto di molte persone. Apersonsi il 1° di febbraio 1563."

13. Giovanni Tarcagnota (d. 1566), *Delle historie del mondo,* first published in Venice in 1562, and again with additions in 1580. Matteo Villani (d. 1363), *La prima parte della Cronica universale de' suoi tempi* (Florence, 1554).

ing examples of how bad things were so that her readers can, she says, "touch it with their hands, so to speak" ("lo tocherete con mano, a dir cosí"). In this Frescobaldi clearly reflects the teaching of the Counter-Reformation Church, which stressed the importance of using a clear language of powerful examples to elicit strong emotions and move the faithful to imitate the saints and their good works.[14] Her purpose is certainly didactic, and she knows that the entertainment of her readers with stories of catastrophes, wars, murders, and other frightful events is a beginning (she states that her readers "delight" ["dilettate"] in her stories and in their variety) on which to build in order to enlighten and transform them. She gives clear directions for how she intends the process to work in her prologue.

This collection was another of the fascinating works that are now in the Frescobaldi family's private archive (and have been, probably, since the suppression of the convent of San Jacopo; in the Leopoldine suppression of 1785 the convent became a *conservatorio,* a girls' school).[15] Unfortunately, only two volumes of what was at least a four-volume work are preserved in the Frescobaldi archives.

III. *Prato fiorito*

Frescobaldi's third contribution to this genre is the *Prato fiorito,* a title I translate as "Field of flowers."[16] It was probably the first of the three examples of this genre that she completed, but I have left it for the last, since I have been able to consult an autograph copy in the National Library in Florence. Unlike the other very fragile texts, this one is in excellent condition, having been restored in 1988. It is also useful to this discussion since in its prologue and dedication Frescobaldi goes to great lengths to describe the genre, and she does so in a very literary way, by playfully extending the metaphor she has chosen in a manner of writing quite uncharacteristic of her style.

The contents of the *Prato fiorito* include the usual variety: *exempla* taken from sermons, short humorous anecdotes, an account of St. Peter Martyr's vision of the founding of the Servite order, the foundation of the hermitage of Camaldoli in the Tuscan hills, the miracle of the Sacrament in the convent

14. *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent,* trans. H. J. Schroeder, St. Louis, MO, 1941, p. 216: "because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may . . . fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God. . . ."

15. Osanna Fantozzi Micali and Piero Roselli, *Le Soppressioni dei conventi a Firenze* (Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1980), p. 167.

16. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, *Conventi Soppressi,* C II 504, an autograph manuscript and the only known exemplar of this work.

church of Sant'Ambrogio in Florence, the tale of a vision of a black cross in a relic that was said to have caused the death of the archbishop and a lot of subsequent bad luck for the city, including the death of the Grand Duke Cosimo, an epidemic of smallpox at home, and a plague that at the time of Frescobaldi's writing still raged in Provence and had Italians fearful. She also includes other stories of miracles, saints, and local legends like the delightful story of the apparition of the Madonna del Carcere (Madonna of the prison) in Prato, a painting that comes to life for a small child and engages him as he passes by. The source of the story of this miracle was a contemporary, whom Frescobaldi had not yet mentioned among her sources, so she adds the following acknowledgment: "I got what I have written from the original by Giovanni dalla Porta, the bookkeeper for that church of the Madonna, who has at many times and places shown us his incredible generosity . . . This author tells of about 136 miracles [concerning this painting], which, not being necessary to mention here, I will forgo."[17]

In the dedication of this volume, dated 1572, to the prioress of her convent, Suor Angela Malegonelle, Frescobaldi discusses the form of the collection and, as usual, her purpose in compiling it. She calls it "a collection of rare and beautiful things, *exempla* that are useful and pleasing in the manner of a field in bloom, adorned with different kinds of flowers of many colors" ("una racolta di cose rare belle esemplari utili et dilettevoli a maniera di un fiorito prato di variati fiori e diversi colori fatti adorno"). In an opening "avviso al lettore" (a note to her reader), she continues the title metaphor in a discussion of what the book contains and the way she has put it together. She writes that "it is not completely without order since it begins with many different *exempla,* like the little herbs of various kinds one sees in the fields, and, as in the fields there are places one might rest, next (in the collection) is the foundation and growth of the Servite order and the hermitage at Camaldoli" (places, like those in a beautiful field where one might rest). She continues: "the trellises draped with vines [are] the other *exempla* and the holy miracles of so many saints." She writes, still describing the field: "Very often there are rose bushes; these are the many martyrs that surround them (that is, the other saints), adding to their beauty. Very often too in the fields there are clear springs captured with mastery and art; these it seems to me can be compared to San Giovanni Crisostomo, whom we cannot praise enough, whose life is found just about in the middle of this book, taken systematically from various authors, so that he who has thirst and desires

17. "Quanto ò scritto l'ò cavato dallo orriginale di mano di Giovanni dalla Porta, riveditore di libri di tal chiesa della Madonna, la quale in varii tempi e luoghi gli piace mostrarci la sua sviscerata carità, come a' tempi nostri à fatto alla vergine Maria della Pace et teste nel 1574 a quella delle Murate. Lo autore sopradetto scrive da 136 miracoli, i quali per non essere necessario porgli in queso luogo, gli lascio" (fol. 126v).

to quench it on this exemplary life, let him read it with attention and derive the greatest satisfaction, since it has been very well structured. This is the order of this book without order; yet one will find as much order here as one sees in a field of flowers that is well kept and was well ordered. Let this be enough about order."[18] That is, if I understand what Frescobaldi is saying, this field has not been left to nature alone, though it exhibits the beauty of the natural setting in its grass, herbs, rose bushes, and fresh streams. It has been adapted to the use and pleasure of man (there are benches, and presumably paths), an art then, though not one that has a well-defined structure, yet the beauty of the place makes it seem right that it appears as it does. This is the order without order that Frescobaldi claims for her collection of enlightening and entertaining stories. This *Prato fiorito* (Field of flowers) contributes to the reader's pleasure, perhaps by offering her surprise encounters as she proceeds from one subject matter to the unpredictable one that follows, and, upon opening up the book, the satisfaction of finding anywhere a delightful passage to read.

The emphasis the author gives to her metaphor of a flowered field, the stress she places on its beauty and the comfort one finds resting there, is, I would argue, a reflection of Frescobaldi's concern that her stories delight and offer recreation to her readers. Learning is here represented by the fountain or stream at which the reader, anxious to sate her thirst, may drink; yet in this figurative presentation, the author's didactic purpose seems to be subordinated to her interest in giving pleasure through her stories. Yet in the dedication of the *Prato fiorito,* Frescobaldi also makes her didactic intentions clear. She writes that her purpose has been "to console all of my mothers and sisters who are now present in our convent and who will be in the future, especially those who are in the workroom, so that they may find recreation reading it sometimes all together, hearing so many varied and noble *exempla,* by which we are very often moved more than by words meant to convince someone to imitate them."[19] She

18. "Nondimeno, però, non è al tutto sanza hordine, imperoché nel suo principio sono molti variati esempli, a somiglianza di herbette pichole di variate sorte come ne' prati si vegono, di poi v'è dove, alquanto posarsi. Questo sarà la origine e 'l progresso dello ordine de' Servi, lo heremo di Camaldoli. Le spalliere atorno colle pergole gli altri esempli e divini miracoli di tanti santi. Bene spesso vi sono siepe di rosarii, questi sono e martiri di molti che atorno lo circundano dandogli vaghezza. Bene spesso ne' prati è qualche limpida fonte con maestria e arte benissimo aconcia; questa mi pare che benissimo si possa asomigliare al non mai abastanza lodato San Giovan Grisostomo la vita del quale quasi che nel mezo si truova di questo libro racolta da vari autori hordinatamente tal che chi ha sete e della sua vita esemplare desideri smorzarla leghala con atentione e caveranne contento grandissimo per essere racolta ordinatissimamente. Questo è lo hordine di questo libro di non ci tenere hordine; nondimeno ce ne troverrà quanto se ne vede in nun fiorito prato che sia ben tenuto e stato bene hordinato. Questo basti quanto all'ordine . . . ," unnumbered fol. [12] recto and verso.

19. "per consolatione di tutte le mie madri e sorelle che sono al presente in questo vostro e mio monasterio, per dir meglio nostro, et pello advenire ci saranno, massimo di quelle che stanno nella sala del lavoro, a fine che le si possino recreare legendolo tal volta in comune, udendo tanti vari e notabili essempli, da' quali bene spesso sian mossi piú che dalle parole che le inciti alla imitatione di essi" (fols. 1v–2r).

concludes apologizing for her poor hand and her lack of schooling and adding that even if her art is wanting, "the things this book contains are they themselves very beautiful, they are rather so many beautiful flowers" ("le cose che in questo libro si contengono considerate per loro medesime son bellissime, anzi son tanti vaghissimi fiori," fol. 2v).

Frescobaldi's forest, her field of flowers, and her collection of wonderful, terrible things, speak volumes about the author's reading, about the books available to her—and it seems she was reading in the convent much of what was popular in the secular world.[20] They tell us too of her relationship with her convent sisters, of her generosity toward them, and her desire to play an active role in the life of San Jacopo, despite her physical handicap. While much of the material she collected in her *selve* is religious, there is much too on art and architecture, geography, and the history of the world. Since both her imagined and real audience were convent women, then and in the future, her collections also speak to what she perceived as their desire, not only to learn more about their religion, its history, and their faith, but also to know and enjoy the outside world from the safe haven of their convents. Another of Frescobaldi's compilations, the *Sfera del mondo* (Sphere of the world), is a description in several volumes of the entire known world, taken from Alessandro Piccolomini's work of similar title (*Della sfera del mondo,* 1540, which she cites in an edition of 1561), along with many other sources, more specific geographies, accounts of voyages of discovery, and letters of missionaries. In all of her work it seems that her aim was to bring as much of the world and history as she could to her convent sisters. Through collections, she sought to do so most effectively.

20. In the table of contents of the *Prato fiorito* (unnumbered fols. 3–5) she lists thirty topics, following each group of ten or so with the name of her source. The sources mentioned are: Luigi Lippomano, Bishop di Verona, *Vite de' Santi,* tomo 2; Saint Gregory of Tours; Simeone Metrafaste, *Vite de santi,* tomo 5; Saint John Chrysostom, the *Tripartite History;* and the Venerable Bede, the *Storia ecclesiastica anglicana* (taken from Lippomano). At the end of the table she mentions three friars from recent times, it seems: the Dominican, fra Gabriello da Barletta; the Servite friar, fra Michele da Firenze; and the Camaldolite brother, don Andrea Spagnuolo.

CHAPTER 13

A Curious Collection in Ivory

The Lord Gort Casket

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In 1948 the art historian David Ross introduced to the scholarly world a previously unknown fourteenth-century French ivory casket, which three years prior had suddenly appeared in a junk shop in the seaside town of Brighton, England.[1] Wishing to turn his family seat at Bunratty Castle into a showcase for medieval art, the Irish Viscount Lord Gort purchased the item, thus conferring upon it its name.[2] It is not surprising that the ivory attracted Gort's attention, for along its many surfaces are a number of popular medieval literary tales and motifs: Aristotle and the maid; Virgil in a Basket; Gawain on the Bed of Marvels; the Fountain of Youth; the adventures of a knight and a wild man and the Castle of Love. Ross has three general aims in his article. Foremost is the classification of the box's iconography. Based on its mixed subject matter and choice of scenes Ross classifies it as part of a subset of the type known in the scholarly literature as the composite casket, of which eight other full examples and numerous fragments survive (see the appendix for a list of caskets and subjects).[3] The odd treatment of the cover image led Ross to believe that the

1. David J. A. Ross, "Allegory and Romance on a Medieval French Marriage Casket," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948), pp. 112–42.

2. The casket seems to be no longer at Bunratty Castle, which is now Bunratty Castle Folk Park, part of Shannon Heritage. The Bunratty Castle Medieval Collection, The Gort Furniture Trust forms part of the Folk Park. The Castle's helpful staff has not been able to locate it.

3. Koechlin was the first to discuss the boxes as a group and called them "coffrets composites" or composite caskets, based on their mixture of scenes from various tales. Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français,* 2 vols. (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1924–26), 1: 484–508, 2: 449–60 (numbers 1281–1300). There are eight other surviving full caskets in the subgroup of composite caskets under discussion, dated between 1320–50: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.264 (WAM); Birmingham, Eng.,

box was a late variant. A second goal is to provide textual counterparts for each image; he did this for every image except for that on the back, which he labeled a *chanson de geste* for its depiction of a confrontation between two opposing armies, a common motif in this literary form. He was not able to identify the exact source, however. Lastly, Ross argues against the notion that the composite caskets express a single unifying theme, citing the variations in subject matter between exemplars as evidence.

Ross's argument suffers for several reasons. One weakness is his focus on generalities; he connects the casket in question with the composite caskets simply because of shared subject matter, which is not always close. Another is his failure to offer a convincing reason for inclusion of motifs usually not found on the other examples, such as the love scenes in the quatrefoils on the cover, Virgil in a Basket, and the image on the back. Furthermore, he is silent about the casket's exclusion of motifs common to the composite caskets. Perhaps most troublesome is his assumption that every image had a written antecedent.

In this chapter, I expand on Ross's argument and place the Gort casket in the intertwined contexts of medieval literary and oral culture. Specifically I use the medieval literary notion of *compilatio* to argue that the box does indeed belong to the type known as the composite casket. In short, *compilatio* brings together diverse texts around a specific theme or cluster of themes to create a new, seamless literary creation through devices such as the excision of prologues, introductions, and even sections of texts; the omission of authorial references; the manipulation of page layout and the presence of illuminations.[4] While the practice is usually associated with manuscripts, as I have argued elsewhere, it can be applied to ivory boxes, especially the composite caskets.[5] By applying the idea of *compilatio* to the Gort box, I consider its deep structural affinities to the other examples, rather than focus on superficial connections, as Ross did. Read as visual *compilatio* the box's program becomes a meaningful grouping of visual

Barber Institute of Fine Arts (BI); Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 123c (NMB); Krakow, Cathedral Treasury (KCT); London, British Museum, Dalton 386 (BM); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 146.1866 (VA); New York, Metropolitan Museum, 17.190.173 and 16.1988.16 (MMA); and Paris, Musée national du Moyen Âge—Thermes de Cluny, cl. 23840 (MMA-TC). All examples will be used here for comparison with the Gort box but that in the Cluny, which I only learned about after writing this chapter.

4. Malcolm Beckwith Parkes discusses *compilatio* in his article "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt,* ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 115–41, esp. 127–33. Several studies discuss vernacular manuscript compilations: Pamela Gehrke, "Saints and Scribes: Medieval Hagiography in the Manuscript Context," *Modern Philology* 126 (1993), pp. 1–67; Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyrics and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); and Lori Walters, "Le rôle du scribe dans l'organisation des manuscrits des romans de Chrétien de Troyes," *Romania* 106 (1985), pp. 308–13.

5. Paula Carns, "*Compilatio* in Ivory: The Composite Casket in the Metropolitan Museum," *Gesta* 44 (2005), pp. 69–88.

tales, that is, a collection. Moreover, I argue that in the oral culture of fourteenth-century France the box's carvings are unique visual (re)tellings, though they might have had counterparts in surviving literary texts. In some cases they are the unique creations of the ivory carvers. I will also offer an interpretation of the carving on the back panel, the subject of which eluded Ross. Last I will posit a tentative historical connection between the Gort box and others in the group by considering ivory carving workshop practices, an aspect that Ross omitted. Before turning to the notion of *compilatio* on the Lord Gort casket, an overview of its many stories is necessary.

I. The Lord Gort Casket

In the two left compartments of the front panel is a short comic tale about the sexual foibles of the Greek philosopher Aristotle (figure 1, scenes 1 and 2). The motif was a popular one in fourteenth-century French art and survives in several media, including the front panels of all remaining composite caskets.[6] In medieval oral culture tales circulated in various renditions and thus there is no way to know which version might have inspired our carver. A thirteenth-century Old French poetical version by the Norman Henri d'Andeli remains in manuscript form and will be used for the purposes of comparison.[7] According to Henri, Aristotle was Alexander the Great's tutor and accompanied him on campaigns. While in India, Alexander fell in love with a beautiful native girl and as a result began to neglect his sovereign duties.[8] Fearing the fall of the kingdom, Aristotle advised the young ruler to stay away from the girl, which he grudgingly did. To get back at Aristotle for ruining her affair and to discredit him in Alexander's eyes the girl devised a clever plan. She promised the philosopher her sexual favors in return for the pleasure of riding him horsey-style around the garden. She then told Alexander to look out his window at the time set for the ride. When Alexander saw his "wise" teacher down on all fours with the girl on his back, he realized that he too was a fool for love. From that day on, Aristotle had no power over Alexander in matters of the heart. The ruler

6. For an overview of this motif in art, see Koechlin, *Ivoires gothiques,* 1: 501; George Sarton, "Aristotle and Phyllis," *Isis* 14 (1930), p. 10; Joachim Storost, "Femme Chevalchat Aristotte," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 67 (1957), pp. 186–201.

7. I have used Maurice Delbouille's edition of the tale as it survives in Paris, BnF, Ms. fr. 19152, an early fourteenth-century French manuscript. Maurice Delbouille, "*Le lai d'Aristote" de Henri d'Andeli publié d'après tous les manuscrits* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1951). *Medieval German Tales,* trans. J. W. Thomas (Lexington: Academic and Professional and Research Associates Press, 1975), p. 6, proposed possible origins for the Aristotle and maiden story.

8. She is not named in Andeli's version; in some she is called Phyllis or Campaspe. Sarton, "Aristotle and Phyllis," p. 10.

and his sweetheart took up their affair once more.

The story of Aristotle and the maid as told on the Gort casket follows closely the presentations on the other composite caskets save for slight modifications. It tells the story in two sequential scenes that present the problem and then the comic high point. In the left compartment a bearded Aristotle, dressed as a man of learning in long robes and a doctor's cap, sits in a curtained interior and reads from a hefty tome that rests on a podium before him, as found on other examples.[9] Our carver has omitted Alexander, a key player in the tale, who usually sits across from Aristotle and receives the great man's advice on matters of love. The carver has also altered Aristotle's hand gestures: on all other examples the philosopher emphatically points to the book with his right hand and signals his speech act with his left; on the box under discussion he merely rests his hand on the volume. The omission of Alexander most likely accounts for this alternation. In the right compartment the maiden rides Aristotle like a horse and freely whips him to stir him on, as Alexander and an unknown woman watch from above. These witnesses might be included because they are mentioned in a now-lost version or because they helped to fill in space; they are not found on other composite caskets. By omitting Alexander and reworking Aristotle's gesture in the opening scene, the box substantially changes the meaning of the visual story and in so doing downplays the ruler's role in it, making it more about Aristotle and his romantic escapades than about Alexander and his dalliances with the maiden, the cause of the problem in the first place.

A story about the romantic follies of another wise man from Antiquity—the Roman poet Virgil—is also found on the front panel (figure 1, scenes 3 and 4). No other composite casket includes this scene, though several manuscripts and two ivory writing tablets convey it. All will provide material for comparison.[10] The earliest textual account of the tale of Virgil in a Basket is found in a thirteenth-century Latin manuscript, BnF Ms. lat. 6186, fol. 149v.[11] In it, Virgil is a magician and a poet who falls in love with the beautiful daughter of the emperor Nero and desires a night with her. The lady accepts his plea and invites him to her bedroom, located in a high tower. To get him there, she

9. All other composite caskets depict Aristotle in this way. One omits the curtains (VA) and one substitutes a brick wall with crenulations for the draperies (WAM).

10. For transcriptions and English translations of textual variants, see *The Virgilian Tradition: The First Fifteen Hundred Years,* ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski and Michael C. J. Putnam (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 874–90, and J. W. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), pp. 136–206, 368–97, particularly 145–46, 372–73. For an overview of Virgil in the Middle Ages, see Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo,* 2 vols. (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" editrice, 1937).

One writing tablet survives intact, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.267, 1340–60; the other is known through eighteenth-century drawings in Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures,* 5 vols. (Paris: F. Delaulne, 1722), 3: 356, plate 194.

11. *Virgilian Tradition,* pp. 876–8; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer,* p. 145.

hoists him up in a basket but leaves him hanging part way up (no explanation given) for the townspeople to see the next day. Virgil extracts revenge on her by extinguishing the town's candles and by arranging through magic that each one be lit only from deep within the girl's bottom. Another thirteenth-century Latin account tells how Virgil wooed the wife of a Roman citizen; rather than yield to the magician's advances, she consults her husband in the matter; her spouse suggests the ruse of the basket to get rid of the suitor and helps the wife to raise him up.[12] A fourteenth-century Icelandic adaptation includes an additional episode: Virgil escapes from the basket with the help of a belt but injures himself; upon his recovery he returns to the lady and allows her to ride him like a horse.[13] The inclusion of the "man as horse" motif in this variant is probably a contamination from the tale of Aristotle and the maid, perhaps brought about through the occasional pairing of these stories in art.[14]

The two writing tablets to show the story of Virgil depict identical scenes save for minor details (figure 2).[15] Each tells the story in four installments spread over two compartments. In all scenes Virgil appears as a beardless young man in a long robe with a hood, which he wears variously.[16] In the bottom register, on the left, Virgil offers his ladylove a pair of gloves as a token of his affection as she sits weaving at a loom; she raises her free hand, which we learn in the next scene indicates her acceptance of his suit (for here she has the gloves). Inside an unidentified architectural structure the woman talks to a man, perhaps her husband or lover. Her gesture of pointing to the figure of Virgil in the previous scene and act of clasping the gloves express her discourse. In medieval dance illustrations gloves often serve as devices to connect two dancers; rather than hold hands, each partner clasps a single glove.[17] The carver has cleverly employed the "glove as connector" motif here to indicate the woman's connection with her suitor. In the top register, Virgil hangs in a basket while a woman and man look on. In the final scene Virgil gets his revenge when he and

12. Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer,* pp. 145–46.

13. *Virgilian Tradition,* pp. 881–88, esp. 885; Ross also recounts this episode in his "Allegory and Romance," pp. 122–25, esp. 123.

14. Besides the composite caskets these two motifs are also found on a capital in the church of St. Pierre, Caen, France, dated to the fourteenth century. Georges Huard, "La Paroisse et l'église St. Pierre à Caen des origins au milieu du XVIe siècle," *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de Normandie* 35 (1927), pp. 288–94; Roger Sherman Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1938), pp. 71–72, figures 13–39; Gabrielle Thibaut, "L'Église St. Pierre à Caen," *Congrès Archéologique de France* 132 (1974), pp. 59–77.

15. Figure 3 is Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.267, 1340–60.

16. For a discussion of the role of Virgil's hood here as a narrative device, see my article "Cutting a Fine Figure: Costume on French Gothic Ivories," *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 5 (2009), pp. 56–89.

17. For a discussion of this visual device and an example of it in the context of the *Roman de la Rose,* see John V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 84–85.

another man light candles from the woman's rump as she crawls on all fours.

The Lord Gort box presents a singular telling of the Virgil story.[18] The first image closely follows that on the writing tablets with the exception that in the second scene the man with whom the woman converses passes his heart to her. The second image follows the writing tablets with regards to the first scene—Virgil hanging in the basket—but differs substantially in the second. Here, a woman whips a bearded and saddled Virgil who crawls on all fours. While doing so, she offers her heart back to the man, who now appears as a fashionable courtier with purse and belt on his hip and a hawk on his wrist. By substituting the device of "Virgil as horse" for that of "woman as lighter" and by inserting the motif of the offering of the heart the artist has greatly transformed the story's theme from revenge to love.

Filling the entire right-end panel of the Gort box is the Fountain of Youth (figure 3).[19] In the left compartment, old men and women make their way toward the waterway in two lines. At the top, several hobble along on foot with the help of canes and each other; at the bottom, a few more arrive in a cart driven by a man who energetically whips his horses. The newcomers' bent postures, down-turned mouths and full beards (for men) characterize them as elderly. In the right compartment two men and a woman enjoy the fountain's rejuvenating waters that freely flow over their naked bodies from lion-headed spouts. To the left of the fountain, a young man and woman eagerly cuddle and she offers him a flower as a token of her affections. Their young age and presence next to the fountain suggests that they have just stepped out of the transformative waters and now are going off to make love. By placing them here, the carver has generated a circular reading pattern for the image: bathers come from and go towards the left.

The box's presentation of the Fountain of Youth differs somewhat from that on the other composite caskets. Three boxes display the scene and each places it in the right-hand two compartments of the front panel.[20] All three show the

18. My explanation of the iconography follows Ross but differs on two points. He mistakes the woman's loom for a window and her shuttle for a weapon and hence assumed that swordplay was part of the story. He failed to note the importance of the motif of the Offering of the Heart in the visual story. Ross, "Allegory and Romance," pp. 122–25.

19. For background on the Fountain of Youth in medieval art see, Mark Gregory D'Apuzzo, *I segni del tempo* (Bologna: Editice compositori, 2006), pp. 147–59; Martin Kauffman, "Satire, Pictorial Genre, and the Illustrations in BN fr. 146," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146,* ed. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 299–305; Anna Rapp, *Der Jungbrunnen in Literatur und bildender Kunst des Mittelalters* (Zurich: Juris-Verlag, 1976); Ross, "Allegory and Romance," pp. 125–28; Raimond van Marle, *Allégories et symboles,* vol. 2 of *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen-âge et à la renaissance, et la décoration des demeures* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1932), pp. 432–44.

20. BM, WAM, VA. A now lost writing tablet formerly in the collection of Prince Wallerstein-Oettingen, Château de Wallerstein, depicts the Fountain of Youth in a manner similar to the composite

same general configuration save for details: on the left a band of old men and women, either in one or two lines, proceed on foot to the fountain using canes and each other; some men carry women, possibly their wives, on their backs.[21] One example depicts an entrance to the fountain in the form of a Gothic castle; under it, an attendant speaks with an elderly man whose hand gesture indicates that he might be begging for admittance.[22] The man's eagerness to get to the fountain is echoed below in his fellow traveler's act of preparing to dive into it; at the fountain's edge he clasps his hands together and raises a foot to hop in. These elements, lacking on the other ivories, reveal the carvers' latitude in creating their iconography as well as their individual responses to stories. In the right compartment, youthful men and women frolic in the fountain's waters that spews from lion-headed openings; their lively, elevated hands and tilted heads signify that they speak to each other as they wash and play in the water; one couple embraces. The image on the Gort box contrasts from these representations in three major ways: it includes a horse-drawn cart and driver; separates the acts of bathing and lovemaking; and arranges the action in a circular reading pattern.

Interestingly, these aspects are found on a French Gothic ivory mirror-back dedicated to this theme (figure 4).[23] In the lower section is a horse-drawn cart with driver that is almost identical to that on the Gort box; the man even wears the same peaked cap and brandishes a whip. To fit both horses into the space, the carver has configured the lead horse to walk up the rim of the valve, as if ascending a hill. Once the bathers exit the fountain they partner up and go off together, as on the Gort box, but here they enter a portico and ascend to a castle's ramparts where they join several other couples already enjoying their renewed status. The couple's progression creates a circular reading, which echoes the object's round shape.

The ivory carvers' versions of the Fountain of Youth stands apart from surviving textual accounts and could be their own interpretation of a popular literary motif. Aspects of it, however, appear in medieval imaginative literature. An overview of possible sources for the carver's rendition will shed light on it.

The idea of a magical waterway that transforms old men into young ones is found in several Old French texts; each describes it similarly, suggesting

caskets; in one condensed image it shows an old man entering a rippling steam of water flowing from a fountain like the one on the composite caskets; two couples wash in the water. Koechlin, *Les ivoires,* lists this work as 1215.

21. BM omits the upper tier.

22. WAM.

23. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71–170, 1330–40. A set of writing tablets depicting the Fountain of Youth includes these elements but differs markedly from the representation on the Gort casket and the mirror back in Baltimore; it is Paris, Musée du Louvre, MRR 429, Meuse, late fourteenth century to early fifteenth century.

a common link. Its earliest appearance is in the late twelfth-century *Roman d'Alexander* of Alexander of Paris.[24] In it, traveling through a forest Alexander and his men visit a fountain that turns old men into boys; though skeptical Alexander's men enter the restorative waters, doing so three times before they are transformed back into youths. In front of the fountain is the statue of a lion finely wrought in gold and guarded by two dragons; through the lion's mouth pours water from paradise by means of an enchantment. The water's source in the rivers of paradise links the fountain to the Biblical Fountain of Life. The thirteenth-century *chanson de geste Huon de Bordeaux* and *Le fablel du Dieu d'Amours* describe a similar fountain, differing only in details.[25] In Chaillou de Pestain's *Roman de Fauvel,* the lead protagonist, Fauvel and his new wife Vaine Gloire bathe in the Fountain of Youth after their marriage. An illustration in BnF fr. 146, fol. 42r, dated to 1316–1320, shows a scene close to that on the ivories but for the amorous elements; old men and women enter a two-tier fountain with lion-headed spouts, bathe under its flowing water, and then exit on the other side as youths.[26] None of these texts links the fountain directly with love. By placing it in the God of Love's garden, the *Fablel* indirectly associates the two. From the literary texts cited here the ivories borrow the idea of a garden fountain, youth-restoring waters, and lion-shaped spouts.

The *Roman de la Rose* explicitly links the fountain with matters of the heart and may have inspired our carvers.[27] The iconography of the composite caskets, including the Gort box, contains elements of the *Rose:* the God of Love, the Castle of Love, and roses. In the *Rose,* the story's protagonist, the lover, encounters a fountain in the Garden of Delight that causes all who gaze into it to fall in love with whatever is reflected there (vv 1388–1612). Narcissus looked in, saw his reflection, and fell in love with himself; unable to satisfy his desire, he died of woe. The *Rose*'s protagonist gazed into the pool, saw the likeness of a beautiful rosebud reflected in the water and immediately desired it. Having

24. Alexandre de Paris, *Le Roman d'Alexandre,* trans. Laurence Harf-Lancner, ed. E. C. Armstrong et al. (Paris: Le Livre de poche, 1994), Branche III, laisse 169 and laisses 201–6.

25. *Huon de Bordeaux Chanson de geste du XIIIe siècle, publiée d'après le manuscrit de Paris BnF fr. 25555 (P),* ed. William W. Kibler, trans. François Suard (Paris: Champion, 2003), vv. 5658–5684; I. C. Lecompte, "Le fablel dou dieu d'amours," *Modern Philology* 8 (1910–11), pp. 63–86, esp. p. 72, laisse 6. The date of the *Fablel* is open to conjecture; Lecompte puts it around the mid-thirteenth century, much later than other commentators.

26. Kauffman, "Satire, Pictorial Genre," pp. 299–305, reproduces and discusses this image.

27. The edition used is Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose,* ed. Félix Lecoy, 3 vols., CFMA 92, 95, 98 (Paris: Champion, 1968), vv. 1388–1612. For a discussion of the Rose's fountain imagery and possible sources for it, see Fleming, "*Roman de la Rose,*" pp. 93–103; David F. Hult, "The Allegorical Fountain: Narcissus in the "Roman de la Rose," *Romanic Review* 72 (1981), pp. 125–48; Ernest Langlois, *Origines et sources* du Roman de la Rose (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1891). Langlois argues that the *Rose* builds on the *Fablel dou dieu d'amours,* esp. pp. 15–21. Lecompte argues that both works imitate a standard pool of literary motifs. Lecompte, *Fablel,* pp. 63–71.

become enamored with the flower but not permitted immediately to possess it, he begins a long lament that expresses his emotional and physical suffering. By associating the fountain with the dead Narcissus and mournful lover, the poet constructs the *Rose*'s fountain as an unhappy place filled with longing, misery, and death. If the ivory carvers based their iconography of the Fountain of Love on the *Rose,* it was only loosely done.

A second text, Guillaume de Machaut's *La fonteinne Amoureuse,* provides another view of the Fountain of Love (vv. 1291–1429).[28] Though this poem was written ca. 1360 and post-dates the ivories under consideration, its inclusion here is instructive, for it provides a contemporary view of this waterway. Moreover, as Guillaume most likely crafted his poem using the *Rose,* his text provides a reading of it.[29] In Guillaume's poem, the lover, indirectly identified as Jean, Duc de Berry, and the poet/narrator, Guillaume himself,[30] enter a garden filled with trees, flowers, and songbirds and there come upon a fountain, which the lover describes at length. It has three parts: a pillar of ivory that tells the history of Narcissus in enamel; a marble bowl carved with the figures of Venus, Paris and Helen, and scenes from the fall of Troy; and a golden serpent that mechanically supplies the water day and night. Nymphs and fairies assemble here to conduct their games, feasts, dances, and schools of love. Whoever drinks from it becomes amorous, a state that could bring joy or pain. The *fonteinne*'s lover declines a drink, claiming that he has enough love in his heart. Guillaume's fountain, unlike the *Rose*'s, is cast mainly in a positive light; the only negative element is the possibility that a drink from it might lead to a lover to experience pain and death. This declaration comes at the end of the passage and after several statements about the fountain's positive qualities (as a locus of joy and amorous dalliances), thus leading the reader to perceive it as primarily good. In this way it is very much like the fountain on the ivories.

Turning to a new face of the box, on the left-end panel of the casket in the scene at left, a knight bravely rescues a protesting woman from the clutches of a wild man (figure 5, scene 1). The carver has frozen the action at the dramatic moment when the warrior, mounted on a fully equipped steed, rushes at the beast and with the edge of his sword strikes him full on the head. The wild man has yet to die; he still stands erect and clutches the girl. Upon seeing the knight, the maiden raises her hand, either to signal for help or to pray for deliverance.

28. The edition is Guillaume de Machaut, *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut,* ed. Ernest Hoepffner, 3 vols. (Paris, 1908), vol. 3, vv. 1291–1438. All verses refer to this edition.

29. For Guillaume's use of the *Rose,* particularly its fountain imagery, see Kevin Brownlee, *Poetic Identity in Guillaume de Machaut* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), pp. 188–207; Sylvia Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 242–49.

30. For an explanation of the various authorial personas in the *Fonteinne,* see Brownlee, *Poetic Identity,* pp. 188–207.

The carver has kept the overall presentation of the tale as found on the other composite caskets except for the detail of the manner of the wild man's death (on all others the knight impales his adversary through the head), size of the girl (on several composite caskets she is quite small, probably to make the wild man seem bigger, for they were considered very large in stature compared to humans), and the addition of a dead lion under the horse's hooves (to be discussed below).[31]

The origin of the image is open to conjecture. Ross, building on others, identified it as the tale of Enyas and the wodehouse, which survives in a condensed form and marginal images in the Taymouth Hours.[32] This story goes as follows: riding in a forest the old knight Enyas encounters a wild man abducting a girl and forthwith kills the beast to save her and claim her as his own. The lady is duly grateful and offers him her love; her affection is short-lived, for when a young warrior comes along and offers aid, she readily transfers her affections to him. Aspects of this tale appear on the Gort casket: a wild man carries off a girl; she seeks help from a knight; and a knight saves her by slaying her attacker.

Equally, the image could be the ivory carvers' own interpretation of a popular legend.[33] The adventures of the wild folk, particularly the male of the species, were popular on Gothic ivories. The carvers seem to have created their own visual stories about these mythic creatures when designing images of them. A brief look at two extant ivory boxes that feature extensive visual narratives about wild men, knights, and maidens will illustrate my point. Carving style and iconography link the Academy casket and a casket in the Louvre Museum, suggesting that a single workshop produced them. The wild man imagery appears on the front plaques of both caskets.[34] The story on the example in the Louvre takes place in four frames and proceeds as follows: 1) two wild men grope a maiden; 2) a knight battles with the two beasts and stabs one; 3) the knight

31. Only KCT, MMA, BI, and NMB show this scene, placing it on a side panel, sometimes next to a motif commonly identified as Galahad's visit to the Castle of Maidens from the Vulgate cycle.

32. BL, Yates Thompson Ms. 13, English, fourteenth century. Ross, "Allegory and Romance," pp. 128–30; Roger Sherman Loomis, "A Medieval Ivory Casket," *Art in America* 5 (1916), pp. 21–2, and his "A Phantom Tale of Female Ingratitude," *Modern Philology* 14 (1917), pp. 751–55.

33. James A. Rushing, "Adventure in the Service of Love: Yvain on a Fourteenth-Century Ivory Panel," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschiche* 61.1 (1998), pp. 60–61, suggests that the image might not have a textual source and might simply be an example of knightly prowess in the service of women and love.

34. The Academy casket survives in a single panel (back) and eighteenth-century drawings, in Lévesque de la Ravalière, "Explication de quelques bas reliefs en ivoire," in *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettre*s 18 (1753), pp. 322–29. Koechlin describes this casket with a reproduction of the back panel, the only surviving piece, in Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques,* 2: 456–57, number 1290, Patrologia latina, vol. 220; Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA 10957–109600, ca. 1340–50. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin discusses this work and reproduces all sides in *Ivoires médiévaux: Ve-XVe siècle* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2003), pp. 417–19n174.

then carries a girl off on horseback; and 4) the knight deposits the maid at a castle's portico. On the so-called Academy casket the visual story is contained in four frames but the device of a castle setting with ramparts allows for additional events: 1) two wild men fondle a maiden (upper) and a knight spears a wild man (lower); 2) the knight continues his assault on the wild men (upper) and then rides off with the girl (lower); 3) the knight and the girl bring the surviving wild men in chains to a castle; and 4) they present them to the castle's queen: witnesses observe both actions from above. Variations in the presentation of the wild man legend between these boxes, especially as they were probably manufactured in the same shop, indicate that their carvers creatively manipulated source material for visual and narrative effect, rather than slavishly copying extant versions. For this reason it is likely that the wild man imagery on the Gort box, like its counterparts on the composite caskets, is a unique response to a popular notion.

The Arthurian knight Gawain endures the trials of the Bed of Marvels in the adjacent compartment (figure 5, scene 2). Chrétien de Troyes recounts this episode in his late twelfth-century verse romance *Le conte du graal,* or *Perceval.*[35] On a quest to clear his name from scandalous accusations Gawain arrives by chance at the Castle of Maidens. Learning from a local boatman that a curse holds the fortress's female inhabitants prisoner, Gawain, the quintessential rescuer of damsels in distress, valiantly goes forth to break the spell and release the women.[36] His action is not without self-interest, for in doing so he hopes to meet and perhaps win the love of one of the women he saves. Gawain breaks the spell by enduring the trials of a magical bed in the castle's great hall. When he sits on it, bells sound, windows open and shut, and bolts and arrows fly around the room. Next, a lion lunges at him. Gawain skillfully kills the beast and severs its paw that has gotten caught in his shield; for this reason, the lion's paw became Gawain's emblem. Unlike other knights who have mounted the bed, Gawain escapes alive but for slight injuries and considerable damage to his equipment. Once the danger is passed and the curse lifted, the castle's queen and ladies warmly greet their rescuer, who remains with them for a short time. While there, he falls in love with a maiden but as she turns out to be his long-lost sister, the affair does not go far. The primary theme of the passage is chivalric feats in the service of love.

The Gort box condenses Gawain's adventure on the Bed of Marvels into a single image. Clad in a full suit of armor, the hero reclines on a bed fitted

35. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le conte du graal,* in *Chrétien de Troyes, romans,* ed. and trans. Charles Méla, Collection Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de poche, 1994), pp. 1166–86, vv. 7592–8274.

36. For analyses of Chrétien's Gawain, see Keith Busby, *Gawain in Old French Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1980) and the articles in Raymond H. Thompson and Keith Busby, *Gawain: A Casebook* (New York; London: Routledge, 2006).

out with draperies and equipped with wheels and bells, as Chrétien recounts. Though he feigns sleep (he shuts his eyes and cradles his head in one hand, both signs of sleep), he is, in fact, ready for action, for he holds his sword erect in his other hand. A shower of artillery rains down upon him and a lion sits by the bed, looking more friendly than ferocious. Three ladies observe and discuss his ordeal from the left corner of the frame; the one closest to the knight holds an unidentified object and seems to be speaking to her companions; she turns to them and raises her hand.

This image conforms to the general presentation of Gawain on the Bed of Marvels on the composite caskets but diverges in important details. One deviation is the location of the three women; on all other caskets they appear in a separate compartment, to the right of Gawain; their poses and gestures alter amongst examples. The maker of the Gort box has probably placed them in the same frame as Gawain to save space. Alternatively, he might have done so because he was inspired by representations on other ivories.[37] For instance, a writing tablet in the Musée du Donjon, Niort, France places the ladies at the foot of the bed. Another difference between the Gort box's conceptualization and that of the composite caskets is Gawain's sword: the majority of the latter show Gawain brandishing a shield, sometimes embellished with a lion's paw.[38] The representation of the lion on the Lord Gort box is unique; in the few instances when the lion appears on the composite caskets, it is large and poised to spring on the unsuspecting knight.[39]

The greatest difference between the presentation of Gawain on the Gort box and on the composite caskets is the context. On the latter, the imagery with Gawain forms part of a sequence of Arthurian images on the back panel, where it appears in the right-hand two compartments (figure 6, scenes 1–4). To the left of the image of Gawain, Lancelot bravely crawls across the Sword Bridge on his quest to rescue his beloved Guinevere, who is held captive by the evil Meleagant, an episode first told by Chrétien de Troyes and then by the anonymous composer of the *Prose Lancelot* (figure 6, scene 2).[40] A knight is locked in violent battle with a lion in the far left compartment (figure 6, scene 1).[41] Read

37. Examples of Gawain in ivory are found on the Academy casket, end panel (see note 33); a mirror back, Bologna, Museo civico, inv. 697, 1325–50; and a writing tablet, Musée du Donjon, Niort, France. All are discussed and reproduced in Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art,* pp. 71–74, figures 140–42.

38. He has a sword on BM and BI.

39. WAM and BM both show lions in this manner.

40. Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier de la charrette,* in *Chrétien de Troyes, romans,* ed. and trans. Charles Méla, Collection Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de poche, 1994), pp. 495–704, pp. 586–90 for Sword Bridge, vv. 3003–3141; *Lancelot. Roman en prose du XIIIe siècle,* ed. A. Micha, 9 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1978–83), 2: 42–47.

41. Commentators on the composite caskets have argued that the figure represents either Gawain or Lancelot, insisting that it be one or the other. For some of these arguments, see Matilda Tomaryn

in conjunction with neighboring scenes of Gawain and Lancelot this one could be interpreted as Lancelot's battle with a lion that guards the Sword Bridge, as mentioned in the *Prose Lancelot.*[42] Or, it could be Gawain's struggle with the lion; as such, it serves as a pendent to the other Gawain image. Equally, for some medieval viewers it might have evoked reflection upon Chrétien's Arthurian knight, Yvain, who was known as the knight of the lion for befriending a lion; on several occasions the lion fought alongside Yvain.[43] No matter the exact identity of the knight, medieval audiences would most likely have associated him with one of King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table and by association with Lancelot and Gawain.

The scene on the back panel has yet to be identified (figure 7). At first glance it seems to depict a confrontation between two opposing armies. On the left is a band of mounted riders wearing long flowing robes, with bands around their heads and bearded. Before them kneels a similarly dressed man, obviously one of them; his small size and lack of a beard identify him as a younger member of the group. Above the youth, atop a tower, two figures observe the action. Opposite this army, in the panel's three other frames, a king and eleven knights prepare for battle; several of the men, including the king, are anxious for the fighting to begin, for they actively wield swords. The men's armor and dress identify them as French, at least according to French Gothic ivories. No other ivory from the period depicts this exact scene. A fragment of a mirror-back (right half) in the British Museum shows a similar line of knights; however, this image lacks a confrontation (it may be lost) and includes a row of warring knights on horseback (top) and a lone knight lying on the ground, in sleep or in death (bottom), elements which point to a different subject.[44]

Ross offered no solution to the origin of the image other than to propose an unknown *chanson de geste.* I will argue that in the visual language of the ivory carvers, it represents a scene from Chrétien de Troyes's romance *Cligès*—when the eponymous hero kneels before the emperors of Greece and Germany to beg

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Bruckner, "Reconstructing Arthurian History: Lancelot and the Vulgate Cycle," in *Memory and the Middle Ages,* ed. Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinburg (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College Museum of Art, 1995), pp. 66–69; Osborne M. Dalton, "Two Mediaeval Caskets with Subjects from Romance," *Burlington Magazine* 5 (1904), p. 305; Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques,* 1: 491–97; Susan. L. Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Literature and Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1994), pp. 168–86; Maclaren A. Young, "A French Medieval Ivory Casket at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts," *The Connoisseur* 120 (1947), p. 20.

42. Kibler, *Lancelot,* vv. 3124–3129.

43. Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion,* in *Chrétien de Troyes, romans,* ed. and trans. Charles Méla, Collection Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de poche, 1994), especially vv. 3342–4543.

44. London, British Museum, MLA 1902, 4–23,4, ca. 1350–1400 or ca. 1800–1850. The men's whimsical helmets have led some scholars to consider the carving a nineteenth-century fake. However, radiocarbon dating has placed the ivory in the years 1160–1300.

permission to fight the Duke of Saxony for his ladylove, Fenice.[45] Promised Fenice's hand in marriage, the Duke of Saxony is outraged when her father, the Emperor of Germany, gives her to the Emperor of Greece and threatens war on both of them. Cligès, however, has fallen deeply in love with the girl and as a result offers to fight the Duke for her in place of his uncle, though not stating his actual intentions for wanting to do so. The ivory's image captures key elements of this textual passage. The kneeling boy's small stature and lack of armor equate him with Cligès at this point in the narrative: he is quite young and has yet to be knighted, though he has already participated in a number of battles. The spear that the figure holds could represent the one that Cligès used to kill the Duke of Saxony's nephew in an earlier skirmish over Fenice. The presence of the two leaders is another clue: both men could easily be emperors as both lead armies and one wears a crown. That the leader on horseback wears the same hairstyle as the kneeling figure pinpoints him as the Emperor of Greece, Cligès's uncle. Another hint is the motif of the twelve knights that appears twice in Chrétien's text: Cligès's father arrives at King Arthur's court with twelve noble and brave companions (v. 330) and Cligès kills the twelve men that the Duke sends to abduct Fenice (v. 3601). The presence of scenes from Chrétien de Troyes's romances on the back panels on all other composite caskets also supports this theory. Moreover, the story of Cligès fits well with the Alexandrian and Arthurian references found on other parts of the casket, as Cligès's father was named Alexander and both he and Cligès served King Arthur.

The cover shows the Castle of Love (figure 8), one of the most popular motifs on French Gothic ivories, and follows its overall manifestation on the composite caskets. In the lowest register, two fully armed knights joust beneath a castle wall, while two more challengers prepare for the next round with help from some ladies. High above, noble men and women entertain themselves by watching the action below or by passing the time with their partner. In the middle register, in a row of quatrefoils, are scenes of lovemaking, such as chin-chucking, exchanging crowns, and playing chess, inclusions not found on other composite caskets but common to ivories. Scholars have suggested various origins for this image with little success, for no source fully accounts for it: not actual festivals,[46] the *Roman de la Rose,*[47] religious and number symbolism,[48]

45. Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès,* in *Chrétien de Troyes, romans,* ed. and trans. Charles Méla and Olivier Collet, Collection Lettres Gothiques (Paris: Livre de poche, 1994), vv. 3894–3961.

46. Roger Sherman Loomis, "The Allegorical Siege in the Art of the Middle Ages," *American Journal of Archeology* 23 (1919), pp. 255–69.

47. As quoted in Ross, "Allegory and Romance," p. 113.

48. O. Beibeder, "Le château d'amour dans l'ivoirerie et son symbolisme," *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* VIe période 28 (1951), pp. 65–76.

or love imagery.[49] Others have focused on its iconographic development.[50] My own reading of this image with regard to the composite caskets argues that it is a compilation of popular literary motifs like those found in the texts illustrated on sides of the boxes.[51] As such, it serves to pull together the caskets' many tales into a comprehensive whole around the themes of chivalry, court life, and love. Moreover, as an assemblage of literary *topoi,* the motif is easily open to variation and change. This openness is evident on the Gort box in the four quatrefoils in the middle register. The artist has obviously adopted them from other ivories, most probably a group of caskets depicting generic love scenes.[52] Inserted into the castle's wall and surrounded by the visual convention of the quatrefoil, they rupture the illusion that the lid depicts an actual palace. Instead, we read it as a cluster of related ideas around the themes of tourneying and lovemaking.

As is evident from the discussion above, the Gort casket resembles the composite caskets in many respects. However, there are differences between it and the group. The most striking is the addition of images not found on them: Virgil in a Basket; Cligès before the Two Emperors; and the four scenes of lovemaking on the cover. Conversely, the box lacks carvings usually found on the composite caskets: the tragic deaths of Pyramus and Thisbe; Tristan and Isolde's tryst under the tree; the capture of the unicorn, and Galahad's visit to the Castle of Maidens. The box also rearranges scenes from their standard locations on the composite caskets: the Fountain of Youth is now on the side panel (on all others it is on the front) and Gawain is on the side (on all others it is on the back). Moreover, it modifies the presentation of several tales found on the composite caskets and in so doing alters their messages. It eliminates Alexander in the first scene of Aristotle and the maiden and hence makes the visual tale more about the old man's folly than the young man's love; it adds the detail of the cart and lovers going off together to the image of the Fountain of Youth, the latter element emphasizing the amorous effects of the water; and it adds the three ladies and a complete, friendly lion to the image of Gawain on the Bed of Marvels. Given these alterations, can we really call the Gort box a composite casket? I shall demonstrate through the medieval notion of *compilatio* that indeed we can.

49. Susan L. Smith, *The Power of Women,* pp. 168–86.

50. Raymound Koechlin, "Le dieu d'amour et le château d'amour sur les valves de boîtes à miroirs," *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* Ve période (1921), pp. 279–97; Ross, "Allegory and Romance," pp. 113–17.

51. Carns, "*Compilatio.*"

52. These scenes are found particularly on a group of caskets depicting love imagery. I list examples in Paula Mae Shoppe [Carns], "Reading Romances: The Production and Reception of French Gothic Ivories in the Context of Late Medieval Literary Practices," PhD diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2000, pp. 223–24.

II. Lord Gort Casket as *Compilatio*

One way that the visual stories on the composite caskets reflect the notion of *compilatio* is through a shared theme. Each visual tale touches in some way upon the topic of love: Aristotle and Alexander make fools of themselves for love; Pyramus and Thisbe die for love; having drunk a love potion, Tristan and Isolde will do anything for love; the unicorn in the maiden's lap and Galahad at the Castle of Maidens symbolize pure or chaste love; Lancelot crosses the Sword Bridge for love of Guinevere; Gawain endures the dangers of a bewitched bed and a knight slays a wild man in the hopes of gaining love; and knights and ladies engage in numerous amorous acts at the Castle of Love. All types of love and lovers are present: young lovers (specifically Pyramus, Thisbe); old lovers (Aristotle, Mark); true lovers (Pyramus, Thisbe, Isolde, Tristan, and Lancelot), false lovers (Gawain); foolish lovers (Aristotle, Pyramus, and Mark); ennobled lovers (Lancelot, Gawain); chaste lovers (Galahad); lustful lovers (all except Galahad but in particular the wild man). Taken together, the images form a worldview of love organized loosely into historical periods: the front represents the Ancient world; the sides and the back, the Arthurian world; and the cover, the medieval world.

The Gort box's visual ensemble also reflects the theme of love. In addition to the messages of love evoked in the stories it shares with the other examples outlined above, the box expresses the theme in three images not found on the other examples. The primary theme of the Fountain of Youth is passionate and physical love, which is most evident in the young couple that starts to flirt upon stepping out of the water (figure 3). Love drives the action of the visual tale of Virgil in a Basket: Virgil propositions the woman for love; she brings about Virgil's humiliation because she loves another; he, in turn, loves her and for this reason is willing to aid her (figure 1, scenes 3 and 4). The carver of the Gort box has played up the theme of love here by omitting the scene of Virgil's revenge, which all the other ivories include, and by substituting for it the devices of "Virgil as horse" and the offering of the heart; the latter particularly evokes the theme of love. Cligès's act of bravery on the back panel bespeaks his love for Fenice (figure 7).

References to the legendary figure of Alexander the Great thematically unify the Gort box's iconographic program as well. Alexander is a player in the tale of Aristotle and the maid (figure 1, scene 2). His presence is evoked in the image of the Fountain of Youth, for it was probably through his adventures that this magical waterway entered medieval popular imagination (figure 3). Cligès's father and grandfather both were named Alexander (figure 7).

Characters' activities weave together the various stories on the composite caskets, thus manifesting the idea of *compilatio.* For instance, several display

nocturnal rendezvous (Pyramus and Thisbe; Isolde and Tristan); slaughter of beasts (hunter and unicorn; knight with lion; Gawain and lion; knight and wild man); and knights performing love service for ladies (knight with wild man; Lancelot; Gawain; knights at the Castle of Love).

Characters' actions function similarly on the Gort box. An activity hinted at on the composite caskets but manifested on the Gort box is lovemaking: Virgil's would-be ladylove and her lover exchange hearts as tangible signs of their devotion; upon getting out of the Fountain of Youth a couple start to cuddle; the four couples in the quatrefoils on the lid engage in amorous acts (figure 1, scenes 3 and 4; figures 3 and 8). The related behaviors of playing horses and riding a horse tie the various stories together as well: Aristotle and Virgil pretend to be horses; a cart driver sits atop a horse as he brings elderly men and women to the Fountain of Youth; a knight on horseback charges a wild man; the Emperor of Greece and his army confront Cligès while on steeds; two mounted knights joust before the Castle of Love (figures 1, 3, and 5, scenes 1, 7, and 8). That the carver wished to blend the carved tales is evident in his substitution of the motif of Virgil as horse for that of the maid as lamplighter, the standard ending of this tale on ivories (figure 1, scenes 2 and 4). Viewing is another recurring behavior: Alexander and a woman observe Aristotle and the maid play "horsey;" four people witness the couple's revenge on Virgil; three women look on as Gawain sits on the enchanted bed; and two people in a tower and some knights observe Cligès and the two emperors; and men and women watch the tournament on the lid (figure 1, scenes 2 and 4; figure 5, scene 2; figures 7 and 8).

Formal strategies visually draw the composite caskets' tales together. Poses and gestures are key devices, as seen, for instance, on the example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figure 9). Here, Alexander and Thisbe's actions of leaning to the left, raising their right hand, and holding an adjacent structure with their left for support visually connect them and meld together these two disparate stories, as do the mirror poses of Aristotle and the lion below (figure 9, scenes 2 and 3). The knight who kills the wild man and Galahad adopt similar stances: both appear in side view, elevate their right hand, and bend their right knees. Vertical compositions appear over the box's many surfaces, thus formally unifying them. For example, Alexander looks down at his teacher and girlfriend from a castle's ramparts; Thisbe reacts to the lion from the safety of a tree branch (figure 9, scenes 2 and 3); King Mark spies his disloyal family members from a treetop; and the inhabitants of the Castle of Love enjoy a tournament from a castle's ramparts. Setting also harmonizes the visual material. A leafy tree stages the stories featuring Pyramus and Thisbe, Tristan and Isolde, the unicorn and maid, the knight and wild man, and Galahad and the hermit. A castle provides an architectural backdrop for the Siege on the Castle of Love, Aristotle and the

maid, and Galahad at the Castle of Maidens. Props connect stories. Swords descend on Gawain and on Lancelot (though there is no mention of them in Chrétien's tale). A lion-headed fountain figures prominently in the stories of Pyramus and Thisbe and Tristan and Isolde, and a lion and its detached paw appear on the back. The artist's intention to create a visual *compilatio* may offer one explanation for the departure of many images from corresponding verbal accounts.

Formal mechanisms also connect the Gort box's many stories. Identical poses for Aristotle and Virgil, both of whom are down on all fours pretending to be horses, and for the witnesses on the castle ramparts above them visually connect the front panel's two narratives. The combination of these two motifs reappears on back panel and lid, thus drawing together these panels (figures 7 and 8). Weaponry visually connect four stories (wild man, Gawain, Cligès, Castle of Love; figures 5, 7, and 8), while whips blend three (Aristotle, Virgil, and Fountain of Youth; figures 1 and 3). The artist visually united the stories of Gawain and the wild man by adding a lion to both, though it doesn't belong in the latter (figure 5). Brickwork and draperies appear sporadically on the box, thus formally harmonizing its disparate panels.

III. Lord Gort Casket in Historical Context

Circumstantial evidence indicates that the artist who created the Gort casket was most likely a journeyman who had worked for a while in the atelier(s) that produced the composite caskets but who also spent time in other ivory carving workshops.[53] Careful examination of the extant composite caskets, particularly with regard to carving style, suggests that several artists were responsible for them. In making them the carvers would have used either actual examples (or casts of them) or a set of loose sketches.[54] A consistency in the arrangement of stories on the boxes (but for the one in question) points to the former, while the great variation in presentation of the individual carvings, particularly in the secondary elements, such as the supporting characters, settings and props,

53. The *Livre des métiers,* or *Book of Trades,* written at the request of the Provost of Paris, Etienne Boileau, around 1268, describes the personnel in the various Parisian ivory carving ateliers, which were organized around product type; each workshop consisted of a master, a number of journeymen (depending on the need), and an apprentice. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris, XIIIe siècle, le livre des métiers d'Etienne Boileau,* ed. René de Lespinasse and François Bonnardot (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), pp. 41–44, 81–83, 127–30; 138–41.

54. The *Livre des métiers* is silent about artistic practices in ivory carving workshops. Extant ivories and casts are our best evidence. Several casts survive, for instance a relief with the Adoration of the Magi, 1300–1400, Liège, Musée Curtius, which is reproduced in The Detroit Institute of Arts, *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age* (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1997), p. 83.

points to the latter. Upon leaving the workshop of the composite caskets, our carver either took with him knowledge of the boxes and/or sketches of them. That he spent time in other ivory carving establishments is demonstrated by his inclusion of several images common to other types of ivories: Virgil in a Basket (on two writing tablets); Gawain on the Bed of Marvels (on a writing tablet, mirror-back, and casket); Fountain of Youth (on a mirror-back); and lovers (on caskets). In one of these ateliers our carver most likely produced the casket as a private commission for someone with an interest in imaginative literature with chivalric and classical themes, possibly someone fascinated with the character Alexander. Such a patron would have been familiar not only with the stories depicted but with their common inclusion in manuscript miscellanies. Thus he or she would have recognized, understood, and enjoyed the box's use of *compilatio.*

APPENDIX

	CASTLE OF LOVE	ARISTOTLE AND MAIDEN	PYRAMUS AND THISBE	FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH	WILD MAN	GALAHAD AT THE CASTLE OF MAIDENS
Lord Gort, location unknown	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2		Right end	Left, scene 1	
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.264	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2		Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end
Birmingham, Eng., Barber Institute of Fine Arts	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2	Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end	
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 123c Collection	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2	Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end	Right end
Krakow, Cathedral Treasury	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2	Front, scenes 3 and 4		Left end	Left end
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 146.1866	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2		Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end
London, British Museum, Dalton 386	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2		Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end
New York, Metropolitan Museum, 17.190.173 and 16.1988.16	Lid	Front, scenes 1 and 2	Front, scenes 3 and 4		Right end	Right end

continued

	TRISTAN AND ISOLDE	HUNT OF THE UNICORN	KNIGHT AND LION	LANCELOT ON SWORD BRIDGE	GAWAIN ON BED OF MARVELS	VIRGIL IN A BASKET	CLIGÈS BEFORE THE TWO EMPERORS
Lord Gort, location unknown					Left, scene 2	Front, scenes 3 and 4	Back, scenes 1–4
Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.264	Left end	Left end	Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
Birmingham, Eng., Barber Institute of Fine Arts	Left end	Left end	Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. 123c Collection	Left end	Left end	Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
Krakow, Cathedral Treasury	Right end	Right end	Back, scene 2	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 146.1866	Left end	Left end	Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
London, British Museum, Dalton 386	Left end		Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		
New York, Metropolitan Museum, 17.190.173 and 16.1988.16	Left end	Left end	Back, scene 1	Back, scene 2	Back, scenes 3 and 4		

Note: Only the casket in Krakow has its original mounts and arrangement of panels. Reassembling might account for the switching of right and left end panels in others.

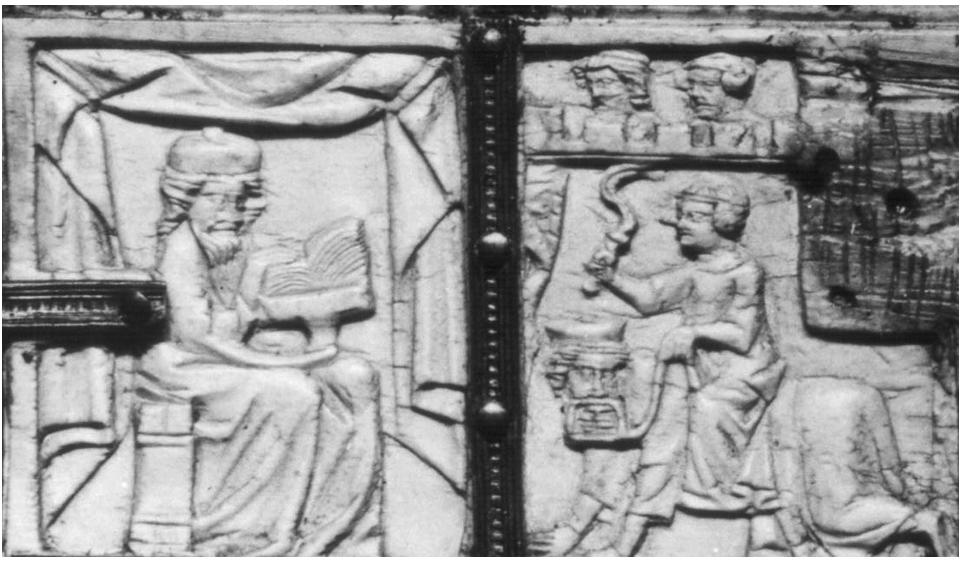

Figure 1, scenes 1, 2: Aristotle in his study; Aristotle and the maid. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

Figure 1, scenes 3, 4: Virgil and lover; Virgil in a Basket. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

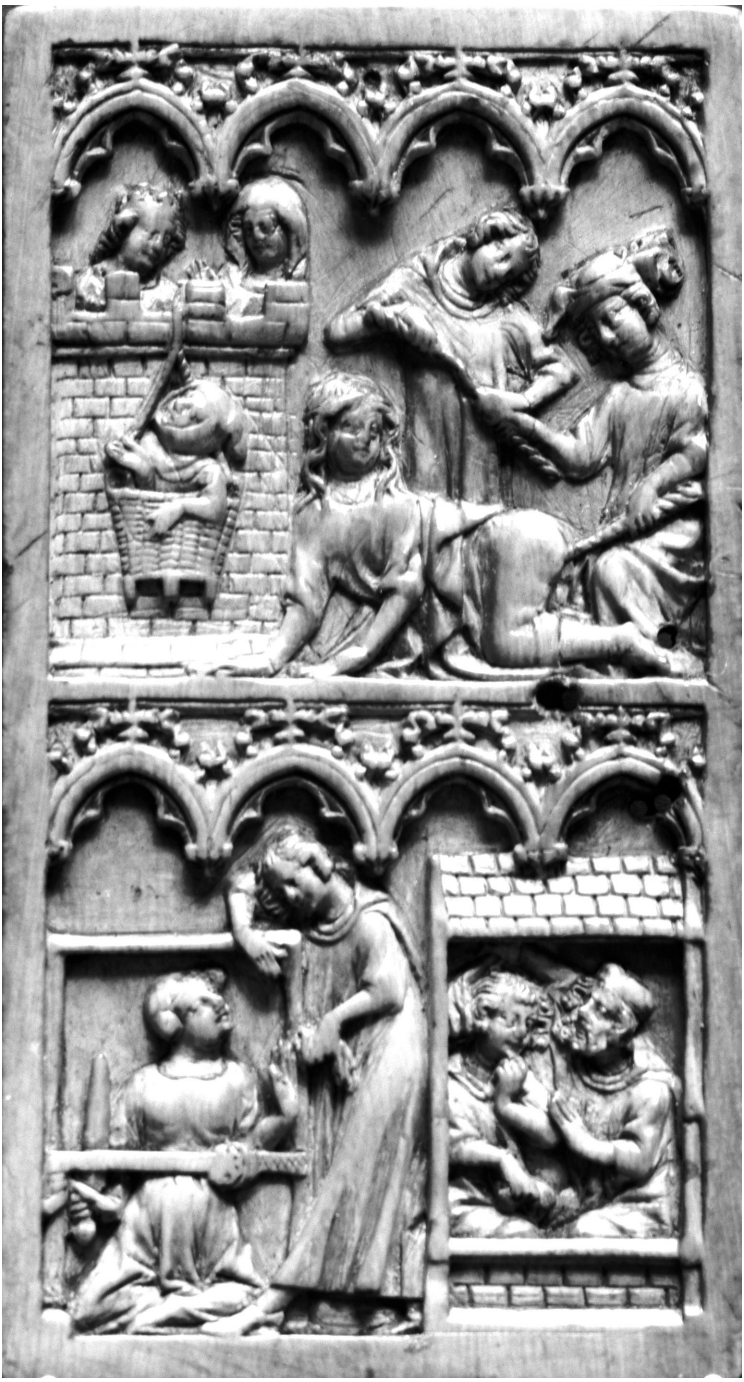

Figure 2: Virgil in Basket, writing tablet. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.267, 1340–60. Photo © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

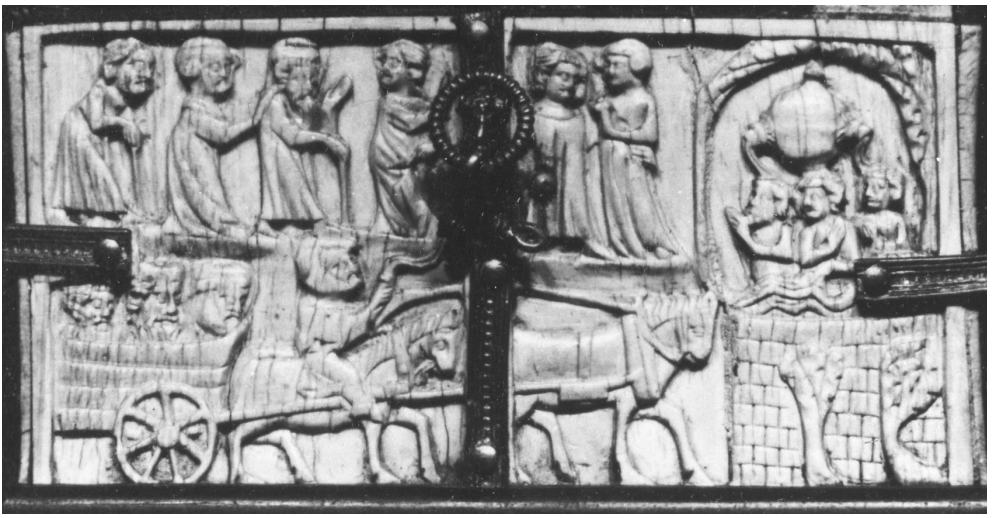

Figure 3: Fountain of Youth. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

Figure 4: Fountain of Youth. Mirror-back, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71–170, 1330–1340. Photo © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

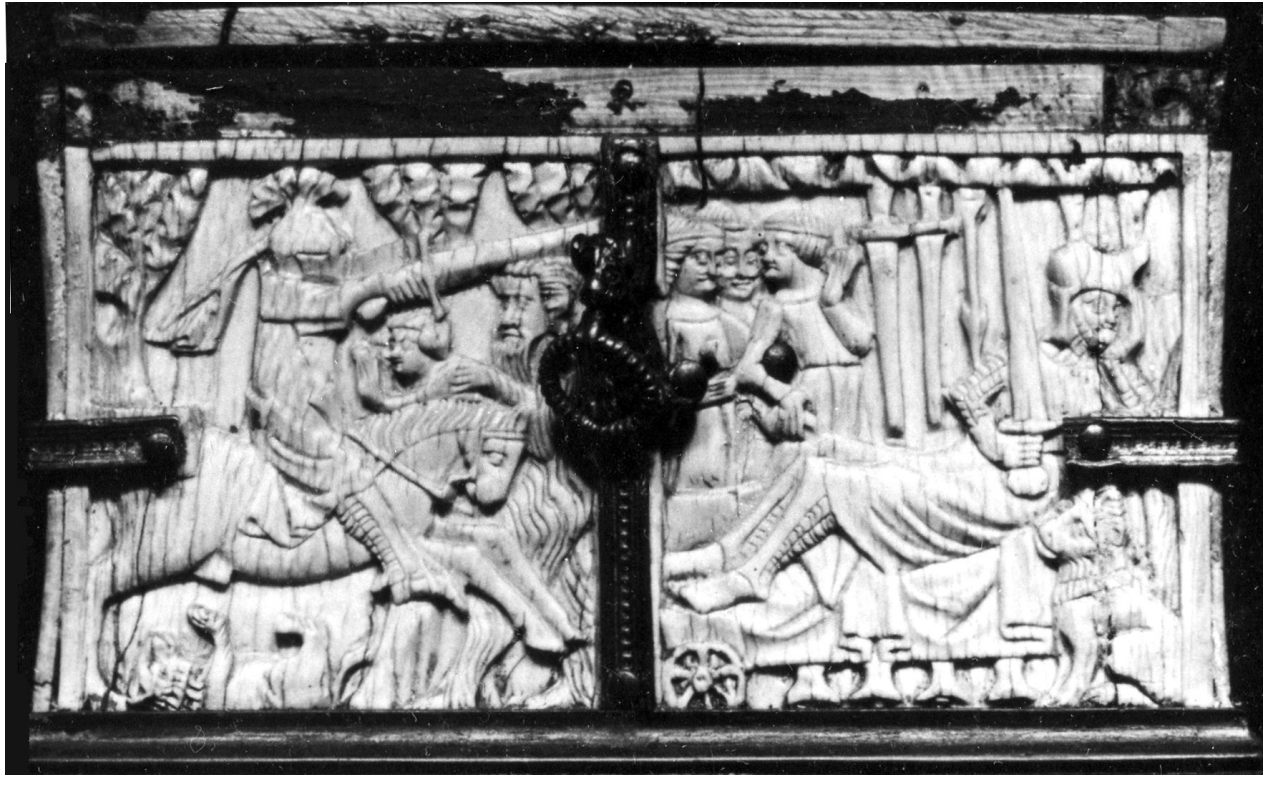

Figure 5, scenes 1, 2: Knight rescues a maid from a wild man; Gawain on the Bed of Marvels. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

Figure 6: Knight with lion; Lancelot crosses the Sword Bridge, Gawain on the Bed of Marvels, Women observe Gawain. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 71.264, fourteenth century. Photo © The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

Figure 7: Cligès before the two emperors. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

Figure 8: Castle of Love. Lord Gort casket, fourteenth century. Formerly at Bunratty Castle Folk Park.

Figure 9: Aristotle and Alexander; Aristotle and maid; Thisbee waits for Pyramus and Thisbee, Thisbee and Pyramus commit suicide. Fourteenth century, front, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.173). The Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Art Resource, New York.

CHAPTER 14

Repeat Performances

Adam de la Halle, Jehan Bodel, and the Reusable Pasts of Their Plays

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In the late 1280s, soon after the death of the performing artist Adam de la Halle, someone brought together exemplars of his extant compositions, entrusted them to skilled scribes working in Adam's native Arras, and thereby created "the earliest surviving single-author collection" of "complete works" from the Middle Ages.[1] As Sylvia Huot has argued in her indispensable study *From Song to Book,* the resulting manuscript is carefully designed to tell a story about Adam's evolving musical and poetic talents by grouping his compositions according to genre and highlighting the importance of the plays he devised. And she has also shown that two unattributed pieces interwoven with Adam's own oeuvre were included in this collection, as comments on his life. They thereby function like the *vidas* that frame the songs of troubadours in many contemporary chansonniers, locating Adam's "persona in a social and geographical context" and evoking the milieu "within which that lyric self operated as a poet, lover, singer, and fellow-citizen."[2]

But Adam is not the only Arrageois artist memorialized in this anthology, and the story of his achievements does not end "with his departure from Arras and his subsequent death" in or around 1285, as Huot has posited.[3] In fact, his career is framed by that of his earlier predecessor Jehan Bodel (d. 1210), whose symbolic presence may be discernible on the manuscript's opening page (figure

1. Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), pp. 64–74 at 64.
2. Huot, pp. 71 and 70.
3. Huot, p. 68.

1) and whose *Jeu de saint Nicolas,* composed nearly a century earlier, closes the collection (figure 2). This retrospective *mise en abyme* not only complicates the designation "single-author collection"; it reveals that Adam's work was intended to be understood in relation to Jehan's, as a play within (or predicated on) an older play—a play that, but for its inclusion in this manuscript, would not exist. Yet what purpose could "The Play of St. Nicholas," composed around 1191 in response to specific events, have continued to serve nearly a century later? And why was it seen as relevant to Adam's life and work? These vital questions cannot be answered with reference to any independent documentation of the manuscript's patron(s) and users, but they can be addressed through an examination of the symbiotic relationship between this collection and its historical context.

"Here begin the songs of Master Adam de la Halle," proclaims the rubric on the verso of the manuscript's flyleaf, like a *metteur en scène* drawing our eyes to the spectacle on the facing page (figure 1).[4] It reveals two expertly plotted columns of melody and verse, the work of Arrageois scribes skilled in the layout of the newest form of musical notation—which Adam's polyphonic motets, appearing later on the program, will require.[5] Held aloft by this display of technical virtuosity is Adam himself, seated magisterially on a bench beneath an archway in a crowded room, brandishing a scroll representing the song he sings to an enraptured audience listening with hands clasped or pressed to their hearts. They hear what we, the manuscript's viewers, cannot. But does that audience, conjured from the past like Adam himself, see what we see at the maestro's right hand? Who is the man seated next to him, whose gestures direct attention to the singer and his song, but whose his face is obscured by the glare from the gold leaf lighting the scene?

Unlike those who enjoyed Adam's songs in real time, we latecomers discern that the performances showcased here are bathed in the light of nostalgia, part of a collective memory that associated Adam's achievements with those of the Arrageois minstrels who came before him. So although the self-effacing, shadowy figure will not appear again, he is there at the beginning, for the songs (fols. 10r–23va), and may continue to hover backstage as the virtual Adam once

4. In its present situation within the codex BnF Ms. fr. 25566, this rubric (on fol. 1v) is separated from the frontispiece of the collection (now fol. 10r) by a quire of eight leaves containing another collection of Adam's songs (fols. 2r–9v), added when the manuscript was rebound at a later date; see further discussion below.

5. Adam is the only secular musician of the thirteenth century known to have composed polyphony, a technique requiring special know-how and notation: see Robert Falck, "Adam de la Halle," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell, 29 vols. (New York and London, 2001), 1: 136–40. I have argued elsewhere that the expertise required of this manuscript's scribes is partially accountable for the anthology's unusual clarity and coherence: Carol Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater," *Speculum* 77 (2002), pp. 778–831 at 821–23.

again takes part in the musical debates that were popular in Arras, the *partures* or *jeux-partis* he composed in lively competition with the sometime banker and amateur musician, Jehan Bretel (fols. 23vb–32va).[6] These will be followed by Adam's dance music (*rondeaux,* fols. 32va–34va) and the polyphonic motets for which he was famous in his own time (fols. 34vb–37rb), each section offering us a glimpse of Adam, in miniature. Then Adam himself retires from the scene and "The Play of the Pilgrim" (*Li ius du pelerin,* fols. 37rb–39ra) begins, its protagonist newly arrived from the Angevin kingdom of Sicily to tell us that Adam is dead—killed in the service of Count Robert II of Artois and honored by a tomb in Apulia.[7]

We may be shocked, but the crowd in the play takes the news casually; they are more interested in the amusements of Arras than they are in Adam's demise. In an effort to hold their attention, the Pilgrim reveals his plan to perform, on the spot, Adam's last work. So "Here begins the play about Robin and about Marion that Adam made" (*Chi commenche li gieus de robin et de marion cadans fist,* fols. 39ra–48vb), its players displacing the Pilgrim on the page and even delivering the punch-line of his last rhyming couplet. Then their pastoral operetta, apparently composed at the court of King Charles of Sicily, is itself invaded by the Arrageois rowdies for whom it is revived, since the hecklers from the Pilgrim's prologue turn up at two points in its plot to disrupt the bucolic shenanigans of shepherds who themselves mock the pretensions of royalty.[8]

When this play ends, the bottom of the page (fol. 48vb) proclaims that we're about to hear *Li dis Adan,* "Adam's speech" introducing what the rubricator later decided to call *Li ius Adan,* "Adam's play."[9] But how can Adam reappear if he is dead? Is this an assurance that true artists never die? Or is the character of Adam to be played hereafter by an "Adam impersonator," as it was when a short version of *Li dis Adan* was performed as sketch comedy to Francophone audiences over the next two centuries?[10] What follows, designated in its *explicit* as the "Play of the Bower" (*Li ieus de le fuellie,* fols.49ra–59va), is clearly the star of the collection, a play whose function is to "locate the author of the preceding lyric corpus within the Artesian community," as Huot put it,

6. Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 216–27. The most recent edition of Adam's works is that of Pierre-Yves Badel, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Livres de Poche, 1995). See also Nigel Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle (Chansons—Jeux Partis—Rondeaux—Motets),* Corpus mensurabilis musicæ 44 ([Dallas]: American Institute of Musicology, 1967), and *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion,* ed. and trans. Shira I. Schwam-Baird and Milton G. Scheuermann, Jr. (New York: Garland, 1994).

7. The text is edited by Schwam-Baird and Scheuermann, pp. 129–53.

8. *A Common Stage,* pp. 22–23, 232–38, 258–66.

9. On the altered rubric, see "Appearance," p. 780n9, and *A Common Stage,* p. 185.

10. "Appearance," pp. 813–18; *A Common Stage,* pp. 186–87 and 270–71. See also below.

"and dramatize Adam's role."[11] Once it is over, we are reminded that Adam did indeed leave Arras in the train of Count Robert, bound for southern Italy. And we are allowed to see for ourselves the epic he composed for the *Roi de Sezile,* depicted on horseback with his lance (fols. 59vb–65ra): a piece left unfinished due to either its royal hero's death or that of its poet, which probably occurred within months of each other in 1285.[12] Perhaps we are to understand that the epic's re-presentation here is based on another exemplar brought back to Arras by the Pilgrim, a manuscript also enshrining a few extra "verses about love" (*Ce sont li ver damour,* fols. 65rb–66va) and, finally, the text of Adam's brief good-bye lyric (*Cest li congies adan,* fol. 66va–b). Following these, we see an effigy of Adam riding off to foreign wars on a white horse, looking back over his shoulder at the people of Arras.[13] As Huot observed, "The last words uttered by the poetic presence that has been sustained throughout this varied assortment of texts are . . . addressed to the community within which the poet lived and within which the manuscript was made."[14]

Yet Adam does not have the last word. To help us grieve his loss, we have "The verse about death" composed by Adam's older Arrageois contemporary, Robert LeClerc (fols. 67vb–68ra).[15] And then, following the eulogy of the black-inked "Here ends about Adam" (*Explicit dadan,* fol. 68ra), comes the rubric, "This is the play about St. Nicholas" (figure 2). Thus the sole copy of Jehan Bodel's play, a portrait of Arras a century earlier, closes the collection with the traditional *Te Deum laudamus* and the pious benediction, "Here ends the play about St. Nicolas that Jehan Bodel made. Amen." (*Chi fine li ieus de .s.' Nicolai que Jehans bodiaus fist. Amen.,* fol. 83rb).[16]

11. Huot, pp. 70 and 68.

12. On the career of King Charles (1225–85), see Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship, and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998). See also *A Common Stage,* pp. 260–71.

13. The image is reproduced in *A Common Stage,* p. 25.

14. Huot, p. 71.

15. Robert was imitating the *Vers de la mort* of Hélinant de Froidmont, a former Cistercian. However, these verses have often been attributed to Adam because of their position within this manuscript. See Arndt Wallheinke, *Die "Vers de le Mort" von Robert le Clerc aus Arras: In sprachlichem und inhaltlichem Vergleiche mit Helinands "Vers de la Mort"* (Leipzig: Thomas & Hubert, 1911).

16. Previous descriptions of the manuscript and its contents vary in their approaches to determining the parameters of the authorial corpus and its relationship to surroundings texts. In his edition of Adam's "complete works," Edmond de Coussemaker assumed that the compilation ended with the *Congé* and ignored the importance of the two lyrics not composed by Adam, which are clearly included in the collection: see his *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle: Poésies et musique* (Paris: A. Durand & Pédone-Lauriel, 1872), pp. xxviii–xxix. Alfred Jeanroy later took him to task for sowing confusion about Adam's authorship of various pieces but did not, himself, explain where the collection ends: "Trois dits d'amour du XIIIe siècle," *Romania* 22 (1893), pp. 45–70 at 45–46. Henry Guy's brief discussion of the manuscript conveys the impression that the entire codex is devoted to the complete works, which is manifestly inaccurate: *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de la Hale* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1898), p. 578. In her description, Huot cites the codicological summary

The dramatic medley described above used to be a coherent entity. It now occupies folios 10 to 83 in the miscellany bearing the shelfmark 25566 among the *fonds français* of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, a codex consisting of 283 parchment leaves (eight are missing from the central section) and the product of numerous collecting and copying campaigns undertaken from the end of the thirteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth. The Arrageois anthology thus attracted a number of later attachments that derived prestige from their contact with it, and that also obscured its integrity. Today, the illuminated frontispiece showing Adam and his shadowy mentor is separated from the opening rubric by a quire of eight leaves containing another libellus of Adam's songs, imported from elsewhere and inserted here by someone who had different notions of what a collection should be. In turn, the resounding "Amen" of Jehan's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* has given way to a number of disparate texts in prose and verse, beginning with the *Bestiaire d'amour* of Richard de Fournival and including *Renart le Nouvel, Li tournoiemens Antecrist,* and a number of shorter pieces.

This enlarged manuscript probably took on its present form in the hands of the duke de la Vallière (Louis César de la Baume le Blanc, 1708–80), whose vast private collection subsumed the entire contents of many medieval libraries. It was among the books inventoried in 1783 by Guillaume de Bure, who noted the predominance of Arrageois material in the oldest portion of the codex. Subsequently, this book and many others were incorporated into the Bibliothèque royale, which in turn formed the core of the new national library established under Napoleon.[17] In 1902, the catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale described the entire codex as containing "songs, jeux-partis, and diverse satirical works by the trouvères of the thirteenth century, for the most part Artesian or Flemish." And indeed, the strong influence of Arras is obvious in another gathering of texts copied by a single scribe (fols. 253r–293v), opening with the

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of Cesare Segre, who himself relied on Guy and De Coussemaker and who asserts that "The original manuscript begins at fol. 10 and continues to the end of fol. 67b," thus perpetuating the notion that the collection concludes with Adam's *Congé:* see *Li Bestiaires d'amours di Maistre Richart de Fornival et Li Reponse du Bestiaire,* Documenti di filologia 2 (Milan: Riccardo Riccardi editore, 1957), p. xxxiv. All of these readings, save that of Huot, ignore the placement of the lyric about death as well as the words "Explicit dadan" on the following folio, and none mention the unified program of layout, inscription, rubrication, and illustration that embraces Jehan's play and distinguishes this collection from the rest of the codex. I have relied on my own analysis of the manuscript, which also corrects and augments the sketchy entry in the catalogue prepared by Henri Omont et al., *Bibliothèque nationale: Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Anciens fonds français,* vol. 2, nos. 22885–25696 (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1902), pp. 647–50.

17. Guillaume de Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Duc de la Vallière,* 3 vols. (Paris: G. De Bure, 1783), 2: 226–42. De Bure nowhere refers to the collection of Adam's works as the volume's *raison d'être,* though he does note that the selection of songs at the beginning of the codex is unusually complete.

Congé of Baude Fastoul of Arras (d. 1272) and closing with the *Congé* of Jehan Bodel, whose poetic leave-taking was the model for Adam's.[18] Once again, Jehan has the epilogue: and this could suggest that whoever was responsible for grafting this branch onto the parent tree may have known something about its roots, to the point of acknowledging Jehan as the shared inspiration for the original anthology.

For if "Adam is held up as the exemplary Artesian poet," leaving behind "a compendium of poetic types,"[19] he did so in partial imitation of Jehan, who also composed songs, *pastourelles,* and an epic; who pioneered two genres of his own, the *fabliau* and the *congé;* and who produced the earliest scripted vernacular drama known to medieval Europe. Of course we cannot be certain that Adam and his contemporaries were aware of all that, but they certainly remembered and revered Jehan as a paragon among poets and the first to win renown for Arras and its trend-setting Picard vernacular. Jehan had been one of the few jongleurs of his era with the technical know-how to record his songs in writing, as clerk to the commune of Arras—like Adam's own father, Henri li Boçu—and, in all probability, facilitator of the impressive documentary campaign that helped a confraternity of jongleurs win acceptance from local ecclesiastical authorities to become the powerful Carité de Notre Dame des Ardents.

Although he was born a generation after Jehan's death, Adam would have heard about this legendary performer all his life: how his education at one of the grammar schools in Arras (where Adam, too, was trained) allowed him to convert from jongleur to author; how he coined the term *fabliau* and rhymed it audaciously with a grammatical variant of his own name, *Bodiau;* how the *Jeu de saint Nicolas* had begun as a satirical comment on the occupation of Arras by the "pagan" King Philip Augustus in 1191, and how Jehan then turned the other cheek and composed the epic *Chanson des Saisnes* in Philip's honor; how he contracted leprosy in 1202 and composed his plaintive *Congé;* how he spent the next eight years in exile from his home town, perhaps supported financially by the bishop who had been the inspiration for the shrewd St. Nicholas of his play; how he died, at last, in 1210. Attending the thrice-yearly commemorations of the Carité's deceased confrères with his father, who would have been no more than a child himself when Jehan died, Adam would have heard the name "Bodel" read out in the litany of the confraternity's funerary register.[20] Thereafter, throughout Adam's youth, it would be the Carité's liturgical celebra-

18. Omont et al., p. 647. See Pierre Ruelle, *Les Congés d'Arras (Jean Bodel, Baude Fastoul, Adam de la Halle)* (Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1965). See also "Appearance," pp. 818–23; *A Common Stage,* pp. 18–26, 32–39, 183–85, 208–9, 271–76.

19. Huot, p. 73.

20. BnF Ms. fr. 8541, fol. 6vb. On the career of Jehan Bodel, the reception of his oeuvre, and his association with the Carité and the bishop of Arras, see *A Common Stage,* pp. 27–68, 80–120.

tions, ceremonies, and feasts that would provide occasions for his own songs, jeux-partis, dance-tunes, and motets. Around 1277, the confraternity provided most of the personnel for his *Jeu de la feuillée.* After 1285, it may have helped to sponsor the commemorative performance of his *Jeu de Robin et de Marion.*

All the while, Jehan's *Congé* was copied and imitated, his poems and songs circulated in local manuscripts, and the text of his play was obviously kept, because otherwise it would not have become the capstone of this collection. Not only did it survive: it was revived. The prologue added sometime after its composition, probably after Jehan's death, carefully represents it as a generic saint's play to be performed on the eve of St. Nicholas's feast day (either 6 December or 9 May). In it, a Preacher—playing a role similar to that of the Pilgrim who prefaces Adam's later play—gives a very abbreviated synopsis of the plot, suggests that it draws on a conventional model (it does not), and gives way to performance.[21] In the ensuing play, a King from Outremer (Acre, where Philip Augustus had gone on crusade in 1190), greedy for the money of a Christian town (Arras, part of the independent county of Flanders and the most influential banking center of northern Europe), successfully invades it. In the process, he captures one of the town's political representatives, a virtuous Prudhomme who has sought sanctuary at a shrine of the saintly bishop Nicholas, bicorn-hatted and revered for his capacity to generate riches (and resembling the bishop-elect of Arras, Raoul de Chapeau Cornu, a notorious usurer). When the cash-hungry King hears this, he makes a bet with the Arrageois citizen: if St. Nicholas will guard and multiply his own paltry income (the inferior coinage of Paris could not compete with that of Arras), the Prudhomme (standing in for local merchants and moneychangers) will be released; if not, he will die. Three Arrageois tricksters then attempt to steal the King's ransom, but they are thwarted by the saint, who intercedes on behalf of the Prudhomme and the people of Arras by increasing the treasure entrusted to him. The King, entirely won over by this miracle of fiscal acumen, converts to Christianity (as Philip converted the coinage of his kingdom when he took over that of Arras).[22]

This historical allegory would continue to have some currency in Arras for a generation at least, up to the time of the Battle of Bouvines in 1214, when the contest over the Franco-Flemish border was (temporarily) resolved. Thereafter, the past it evoked would be generalized and elided by the added prologue,

21. See the edition of Albert Henry, *Le Jeu de saint Nicolas de Jehan Bodel* (Brussels: Presses universitaires de Bruxelles, 1962; repr. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1981), pp. 42–50.

22. I present the evidence that supports this reading in *A Common Stage,* pp. 29–68. Particularly noteworthy is the extant will of Bishop Raoul, which details his business dealings and his bequest on behalf of lepers: see the edition of Bernard Delmaire, "Le testament d'un évêque d'Arras originaire du diocèse de Vienne en Dauphiné (1220)," in *Papauté, monachisme, et théories politiques: Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Michel Pacaut,* ed. P. Guichard et al., 2 vols. (Lyon: Centre interuniversitaire d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 1994), 2: 453–60.

which made the play fit for performance on feast days and perhaps on the Feast of Fools at the cathedral of Arras, when a Boy-Bishop aped the authority of the real one.[23] Perhaps the character of St. Nicholas had even been designed by Jehan for a Boy-Bishop; it is tempting to look back at the manuscript miniature depicting the Prudhomme's diminutive patron (figure 2) and to see a child-actor. Had Adam himself played this role, before graduating to others? It is certainly possible. His later studies in Paris were probably supported by the diocese, which kept a house for young men who went to the university there, and it seems reasonable to assume that he had been a scholar at the cathedral school.[24] And, given the close relationship between the bishops of Arras and the confraternity of jongleurs, a relationship formalized in Jehan's lifetime and maintained throughout the thirteenth century, it is also reasonable to surmise that there was some collaboration in these repeat performances, and even in preserving the script that has come down to us via the anthology of Adam's oeuvre.[25]

Eventually, of course, the historical setting of Jehan's play may have been all but forgotten, thereby making it a palimpsest on which new events could be mapped and new meanings encoded. In Adam's day, it could have spoken to the new social, economic, and spiritual tensions that also inform the *Jeu de la feuillée.* Modern readings of this later play which see it as anti-aristocratic or politically subversive are largely untenable when we consider its context in this deluxe manuscript, but Adam was certainly indebted to Jehan for the gritty comic realism of the earlier poet's tavern scenes and fabliaux. He also shared Jehan's piety, ending his play with a visit to the Blessed Virgin's shrine and a reference to the sounding bells of St. Nicholas's parish church: *Sen irons a saint nicolai / Conmenche asonner des cloquetes* (fol. 59v).[26] Had the anthology not included the works of Adam exported from Italy, these last lines of the *Jeu de la feuillée* would have segued directly into the *Jeu de saint Nicolas.*

The anthology's privileging of Adam's identity as a dramatist implies that he and Jehan were both recognized as pioneers in the production of new theatrical genres. While every medieval community had its own forms of play, some formalized *as* plays, there is no evidence that anyone else in Europe was attempt-

23. Margot Fassler, "The Feast of Fools and *Danielis Ludus:* Popular Tradition in a Medieval Cathedral Play," in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony,* ed. Thomas Forrest Kelly (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 65–99. See also *A Common Stage,* pp. 212–14.

24. *A Common Stage,* pp. 156–57, 186. See Adolphe Guesnon, *Un collège des Bons enfants d'Arras à Paris du XIIIe au XVe siècle.* Paris: Extrait des *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 42 (1915); J. M. Reitzel, "The Medieval Houses of Bons-Enfants," *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 179–207.

25. *A Common Stage,* pp. 49–53, 86–106, 112–13.

26. See verses 1097–98 in the edition of Badel. On the contrast between contemporary contexts of Adam's plays and their modern interpretation, see *A Common Stage,* pp. 183–85, 208–17, 258–59.

ing what Jehan and Adam achieved at this early date. Indeed, there is excellent evidence that their plays could not travel far beyond Arras, or be detached from the local knowledge of Arrageois expatriates. Even though the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* may have been conceived in Italy, it came home to Arras in the end, and neither of the other two manuscripts preserving it contains the Pilgrim's prologue or its related scenes.[27] The *Jeu de la feuillée,* so firmly situated in the Arras of 1276 that it is largely incomprehensible to future readers, was known to contemporaries oustiders only as a short vignette in which Adam and a few interlocutors debate his wife's charms and the attractions of Parisian scholarship.[28] Despite the wide esteem in which both Jehan and Adam were held, then, their plays remained largely unknown beyond Arras until their rediscovery in the eighteenth century. The demands they made (of attention span, casting, context) were too heavy. By contrast, the anonymous contemporary *Courtois d'Arras*—shorter, adaptable, and universally recognizable as a biblical parable—was portable and therefore survives in three different versions in four separate manuscript collections.[29]

So the inclusion of Jehan's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* within this anthology depends on its local associations and its potential importance for understanding the development of another local boy's talents. Is this enough to explain its place in Adam's artistic retrospective? Perhaps. Yet there is another compelling explanation for its inclusion. As the Pilgrim reported, Adam had taken service with the count of Artois and had tragically died somewhere in Apulia. This revelation by a character attached to one of Adam's own plays is the only contemporaneous reference to the place and circumstances of his death—though it is partly corroborated by a manuscript colophon penned by one Jehanes Mados, who claimed to be Adam's nephew and who lamented his death.[30] It is therefore worth considering how Adam's sojourn in a foreign land may have made the legacy of Jehan Bodel and the reusable past of Jehan's play newly relevant.

27. The other manuscripts are BnF Ms. fr. 1569 (fols. 140r–144v), which lacks musical notation, and the lavishly illustrated libellus (132 miniatures on 11 folios) that is now Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes Ms. 166. See the detailed digital facsimile of the latter prepared by Jesse D. Hurlbut at http://toisondor.byu.edu/dscriptorium/aix166.

28. These are two so-called fragments of the *Jeu de la feuillée*—really, self-contained playlets—preserved in BnF Ms. fr. 837 (fols. 250va–251va) and BAV Ms. Reg. lat. 1490 (fols. 131v–133v). See "Appearance," pp. 814–88; *A Common Stage,* pp. 186–87.

29. *A Common Stage,* pp. 71–73, 79–80.

30. BnF Ms. fr. 375, fol. 119va. Fabienne Gégou has argued that Adam actually survived his trip to Italy, based on the reference to a "Maistre Adam Le Boscu" in the account roll of the festivities surrounding the knighting of the future Edward II at Caernarvon in 1306: "Adam le Bossu était-il mort en 1288?" *Romania* 86 (1965), pp. 111–17 and "Les trouvères artésiens et la cour d'Angleterre de 1263 à 1306," in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen-Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Monsieur Charles Foulon,* 2 vols. (Rennes: Institut de France, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 1: 141–46. As attractive as this scenario is, the evidence does not support it: see *A Common Stage,* pp. 269–70.

Robert of Artois had gone to Italy because his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had a war on his hands. Crowned King of Sicily by Pope Urban IV in 1266, Charles had been making mayhem in the Mediterranean world. He had even gone so far as to acquire the title to the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and its capital, Acre, a venture that made him King of Outremer—just like the pagan King of the *Jeu de saint Nicolas.* In 1282, his overextended authority in Sicily led to a popular uprising against the occupying Angevin forces in Palermo, an event known as the Sicilian Vespers, which was supported by one of Charles's bitterest enemies, King Pedro of Aragon. By the time Robert and his army arrived at the southern tip of the peninsula, Angevin possessions in Calabria had been lost.[31] Adam, who may already have been engaged in composing an epic in honor of Charles and in imitation of Jehan, was probably stationed with the royal archives at Naples while Robert tried to regain lost ground. Thereafter, Adam would have moved with the king's retreating household to Bari, on the Adriatic coast, in November of 1284. It was there, in the pilgrimage center housing the relics of St. Nicholas, that Charles died in January of 1285.[32] And it was there that Adam, too, probably spent the last months of his life.

Had Adam brought with him a script of Jehan's play? Or was his memory of it now excited by the proximity of the saint's basilica? Did he, perhaps, preside over a repeat performance of the play in Bari, at a time when the rhetoric of crusade could be applied to the war against the rebel Sicilians and their Spanish supporters, who had been placed under interdict by the pope?[33] Or was the connection between Adam's predicament and the plot of Jehan's *Jeu de saint Nicolas* something that was noted only afterward, by others, when they laid one Arrageois playwright to rest in the besieged city sacred to the saint of the other? Did the play become, in performance or in manuscript, a requiem? We can read the concluding rubric with a new inflection: "*Here* ends the play of St. Nicholas that Jehan Bodel made. Amen." Here it ends: in Bari, with the death of Jehan's successor Adam, far from the Arras to which both men's plays could return only through the medium of manuscript.

This is speculation, but it fits the few facts that we have. It suggests, furthermore, that Robert of Artois did, as the Pilgrim claimed, make a monument

31. For a full account of the causes and contexts, see Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958 and 1982). See also Dunbabin, pp. 197–208. For the movements of Robert and his army, see Auguste Menche de Loisne, "Itinéraire de Robert II, comte d'Artois (1267–1302)," *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1913), pp. 362–83 at 371–75.

32. Jole Mazzoleni, *Le fonti documentarie e bibliografiche dal sec. X al sec. XX conservate presso l'archivio di stato di Napoli* (Naples, 1974), pp. 31–57; Andreas Kieswetter, "La cancellaria Angioina," in *L'état angevin: Pouvoir, culture, et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle: actes du Colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome . . . [et al.] (Rome-Naples, 7–11 novembre 1995),* Nuovi studi storici, 45 (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome, 1998), pp. 361–95.

33. Runciman, pp. 227–33 and 257–68.

to Adam in Apulia: a monument in parchment. As the fiscal accounts kept in the 1290s show, the minstrels of the count's household were often well loved and well rewarded for undertakings that frequently entailed perilous diplomatic missions and direct participation in battle.[34] Adam did not live to draw a pension like many of his colleagues or to be repaid "for the jests we have had from him" and "for horses killed in our service."[35] Instead, he may have died violently in the field or in a Bari besieged by the enemy and only belatedly fortified against attack "because of the imminent wars and the tumult of the present times."[36] Under these circumstances, his remorseful patron might well have commissioned an expensive memorial volume as a fitting tribute. This, in turn, would explain how the Pilgrim and the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion* made it back to Arras, along with unfinished work begun in Italy, to be gathered together with the rest of Adam's oeuvre for a definitive repeat performance.

34. For a discussion of the circumstances in which Adam and his colleagues worked while in Robert's employ, see *A Common Stage,* pp. 246–66.

35. Archives départementales du Pas-de-Calais, série A 35.9: "por chevaus quil a eu mort en nostre service, et por jouiaus que nous avons eu de lui."

36. This according to an act dated 20 May 1286, the year after Adam's death, detailing the defenses being prepared by Robert and the papal legate, Bishop Gerardus of Sabina. See Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia sacra; sive, De episcopis Italiæ, et insularum adjacentium, rebusque ab iis præclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque ætatem,* 2nd ed., ed. N. Coleti, vol. 7 (Venice, 1721), pp. 631–32: "propter imminentes guerras, & præsentis turbationem temporis."

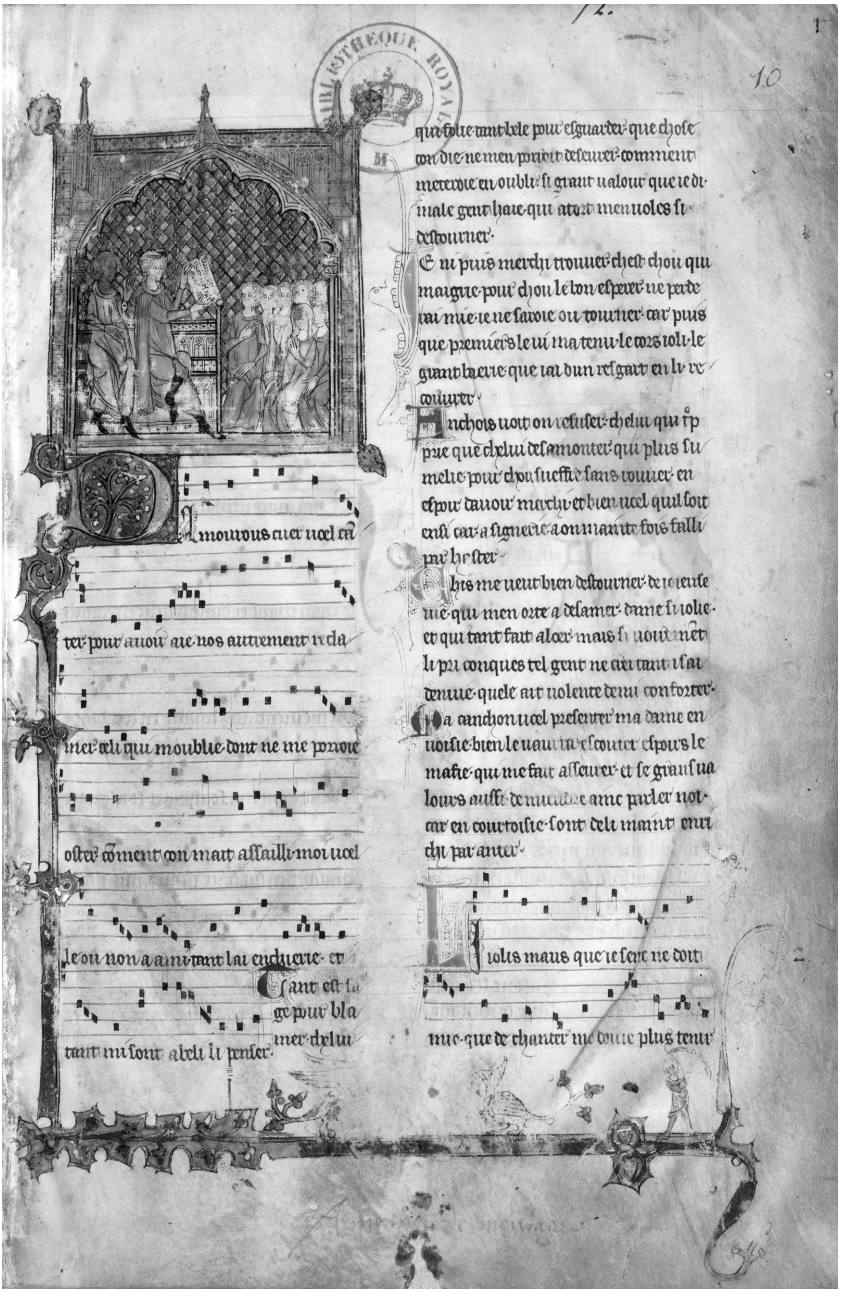

Figure 1: *Les canchons maistre adan de la halle.* BnF Ms. fr. 25566, fol. 10r. (Photo BnF)

Figure 2: *Explicit dadam. Cest li ius de .S.' Nicholai.* BnF Ms fr. 25566, fol. 68ra, detail. (Photo BnF)

AFTERWORD

Of Books and Other Miscellaneous Revolutions

Medieval Miscellanies in Context

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In the context of recent French contemporary criticism, medieval miscellanies, not unlike the whimsical kaleidoscope of which they may remind us, have become an arresting domain of curiosity as well as a privileged object of literary investigation.[1] Scholars, as expected, well aware of Zumthor's and Cerquiglini's *mouvance*[2] and *variance*[3] concepts, have been for the past couple of decades thinking over the fluid mobility of medieval texts, more often than not frozen up in the critical edition process. As a result, medieval miscellanies, by definition at once composite collections of heterogeneous works and homogeneous narrative fragments, force us to question the specificities and design of this book history phenomenon that grows out of thirteenth-century vernacular French literature and thrives until the modern period, which may be attested by the thematic density of the present volume.

But what is a miscellany? How does this "box" containing the quintessence of a field of expertise, this "laboratory" of erudite experimentation and of intel-

1. On medieval miscellanies in particular, we may refer to the following fundamental studies: Ian Short, "L'avènement du texte vernaculaire: la mise en recueil," in *Théories et pratiques de l'écriture au Moyen Âge. Actes du colloque du Palais du Luxembourg-Sénat, 5 et 6 mars 1987,* ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Christiane Marchello-Nizia, Littérales 3 (Nanterre: Centre de recherches du Département de français de Paris X-Nanterre; Saint-Cloud: Centre espace-temps-histoire de l'É[cole] N[ormale] S[upérieure] Fontenay/Saint-Cloud, 1988), pp. 11–23; Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Quand la voix s'est tue: la mise en recueil de la poésie lyrique aux XIVe et XVe siècles," in *La présentation du livre. Actes du colloque de Paris X-Nanterre,* ed. Emmanuèle Baumgartner and Nicole Boulestreau, Littérales 2 (Nanterre: Centre de recherches du Département de français de Paris X-Nanterre, 1987), pp. 313–27.

2. Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

3. Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

lectual speculation, this "courtly mirror" of mundane aspirations, this citizen's savvy political "message" . . . work? A brief incursion in a modern language dictionary, the *Trésor de la langue française* for instance, tells us that a miscellany is a "work or publication collecting documents of a same nature or belonging to the same genre, which are written, reproduced, or printed." Such a modern definition is based on the exclusive notion of content homogeneity and does not take into account the material dimension of the book, which has nevertheless radically evolved from the Middle Ages through to the seventeenth century.[4]

It appears that the difficulty in defining miscellanies is in part corroborated by the history of the criticism devoted to the making of miscellanies: at the outset of a material fact, a certain critical current may have been tempted in the past to analyze the succession of works in medieval codices through a strictly literary approach, all the while risking the distortion of reality and overlooking the decisive material space of the book in favor of editions of texts isolated from their context.[5] However, putting the text back into its codex has constituted one of the fundamental characteristics of the medieval literary fact, as demonstrated by recent studies that do indeed primordially take into account the material characteristics of specific manuscript miscellanies.[6] In the wake of recent studies[7] devoted

4. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962); Ezio Ornato, "Les conditions de production et de diffusion du livre médiéval (XIIIe–XVe siècles): Quelques considérations générales," in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'état moderne; Actes de la table ronde organisée par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome, Rome 15–17 octobre 1984, Collection de l'École française de Rome* 82 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985), pp. 57–84; Henri-Jean Martin, *La naissance du livre moderne (XIVe-XVIIe siècles): mise en page et mise en texte du livre français* (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 2000).

5. A stunning example of this is the one pointed out by Sylvie Lefèvre about the famous BnF Ms.fr. 837 miscellany for which she provides—at last!—the first codicological description (see Sylvie Lefèvre, "Le recueil et l'Œuvre unique: mobilité et figement," in *Mouvances et jointures: du manuscrit au texte médiéval,* ed. Milena Mikhaïlova (Orléans: Paradigme, 2005), pp. 203–17.

6. For instance, these most recent English or North American studies: *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany,* ed. Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); *Imagining the Book,* ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books 1473–1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375–1475,* ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek A. Pearsall (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Julia Boffey, "The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost and its Role in Manuscript Anthologies," *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003), pp. 120–30; Julia Boffey, "*Troilus and Criseyde* and Chaucer's Shorter Poems: Codicology and Paleography," in *Approaches to Teaching Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde' and the Shorter Poems,* ed. Tison Pugh and Angela Jane Weisl (New York: MLA, 2007).

7. In addition to the synthetic works quoted above, let us also refer to the Limoges conference proceedings (*Mouvances et jointures: du manuscrit au texte médiéval,* ed. Milena Mikhaïlova, [Orléans: Paradigme, 2005]) as well as *Babel* issue 16 (*La mise en recueil des textes médiévaux,* ed. Xavier Leroux, (2007) and the proceedings of the joint conferences of Louvain-la-Neuve and Geneva, which aimed at approaching miscellanies from the beginning to the end of the Middle Ages (published as *Le recueil au Moyen Âge,* 2 vols., ed. Tania Van Hemelryck and Céline Van Hoorebeeck, Texte, Codex & Contexte 8 and 9 [Turnhout: Brepols, 2010]).

to miscellanies and influenced by the New Philology,[8] the present volume tries to approach this phenomenon by means of its medieval literary materiality. As Anne D. Hedeman points out concerning the Shrewsbury Book (Ms. Royal 15 E. vi), it is imperative to consider "the physical book and its material presence as a subject of analysis and [to ask] how consideration of the visual narrative within the context of the material object that contains it might inflect our understanding."[9]

In fact, the medieval book, and perhaps even more if it presents itself in the form of a collection or miscellany, must be seen as a whole with specific traits owing to its modalities of existence, which cleverly exemplifies Saint Bonaventure's formula about the four fundamental attitudes one assumes of a book: *auctor, scriptor, commentator, compilator.*[10] In the case of miscellanies, the act is quadrupled, for the copyist gathers the literary material, thus becoming its unintentional commentator, perhaps even an author in some way. In any case, the result of this material act of collecting highlights a new space within in the book; the book thereby operates by a complex dynamic: that of the context and of its makers, patrons, and receivers.

First and foremost, the literary work stems from a context and a legacy both literary and intellectual; the book, the codicological fact, is conditioned by a cultural environment, all the while being subjected to such pragmatic variables as economic ones, a fact indeed highlighted by several contributors to this volume. Thus, the emergence of the vernacular miscellany is the clear sign of a mutation of the form of the book, but also of the bookish universe and of its organizational principles within that same universe.

As Jack Goody points out, any single change in the system of communication does necessarily entail important effects on the contents conveyed, though we cannot reduce a message to the material means of its transmission.[11]

Miscellanies, then, before being a literary manifestation, single out a technical and cultural revolution: it appears that the global context of the thirteenth century has encouraged, not to say sparked, the emergence and existence of this new form of the book and that the medieval act of collecting induces a new way of thinking that foreshadows its subsequent expressions, up until the Wikipedia

8. For instance: Wagih Azzam, Olivier Collet, and Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, "Les manuscrits littéraires français: pour une sémiotique du recueil médiéval," in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 83.3 (2005), pp. 639–69.

9. Anne D. Hedeman, chapter 6, this volume. On this singular manuscript, the following contributions in this volume should be cited: Karen Fresco, chapter 9; Craig Taylor, chapter 8; and Andrew Taylor, chapter 7.

10. Saint Bonaventure, *Commentarium in I Librum Sententiarum,* in *Opera Omnia,* vol. 1 (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi): Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1882), pp. 14–55.

11. Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

generation, actually.[12] Be it organic, cumulative or heterogeneous,[13] a miscellany always stems from a particular intention: that of an individual transcended by an aesthetic, cultural, ideological, or political project.[14]

In fact, several of the contributions to this volume show indeed that the medieval act of compiling is not confined to the sole world of the book, but rather interestingly touches upon all medieval artistic manifestations.[15]

Now, what is especially important to spell out is that, although we do tend to celebrate the "print revolution," the true "epistemic fracture" really occurred in the thirteenth century, a period during which the book, far from being a mere means of conservation, became a public space for all sorts of issues, work, and discussions to happen.[16] The reasons for producing books also change at that same period: a production motivated by the personal and internal use of monasteries moves to a production motivated on the contrary by an external demand—thus, producing a manuscript becomes a lucrative and economic activity, and not only a spiritual or intellectual one.

Therefore, as the exclusivity of monastic production is lost to a production that makes of the book a trade with economic issues, the book's craftsman inserts himself into a cultural and intellectual social fabric with which he dialogues in order to respond to the system's various needs. In the university context,[17] lay workshops develop strategies of production and of retailing likely to meet the expectations of a new readership[18] made up of professors and stu-

12. This contemporary expression of the concept must not shock us; our disciplines do indeed take advantage of it, as shown by Ainsworth's contribution, which details the "efforts to create a collection of Froissart manuscripts for study across several inter-related projects"; see chapter 1, this volume.

13. Such are the three categories of miscellanies established by Geneviève Hasenohr in her pioneering article: "Les recueils littéraires français du XIIIe siècle: public et finalité," in *Codices miscellanearum: Brussels Van Hulthem Colloquium 1999,* Numéro spécial, ed. Ria Jansen-Sieben and H. Van Dijk (Brussels: Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, 1999), pp. 38–39.

14. The political dimension of the act of compilation is constant throughout the centuries, from the medieval period (cf. Craig Taylor, chapter 8, this volume) up until our modern times. Marcus Keller says in fact about the Renaissance: "In the uncertain, fragile world of the turn of the sixteenth century, it is this freedom that the editor-printers of the *Trésor* might have sought to promote above all by opting for the anthological mode. In doing so, they ultimately propose this mode, which resists any ideological closure, as a basic condition for the modern state" (cf. Marcus Keller, chapter 5, this volume).

15. Paula Mae Carns, chapter 13, this volume.

16. François Roudaut, *Le livre au XVIe siècle: Éléments de bibliologie matérielle et d'histoire, Études et Essais sur la Renaissance* 47 (Paris: Champion, 2003), p. 121. Carol Symes's contribution about the "earliest surviving single-author collection" of "complete works" from the Middle Ages confirms this (chapter 14, this volume).

17. See, for instance, Godfried Croenen, "Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops. Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400, Synthema* 4, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), pp. 1–19.

18. This observation does not exclude of course the intentions of monastic reading practices; cf. Kathryn A. Duys, chapter 11, this volume.

dents but also of men of letters, tradesmen, or lawyers. The book becomes an object of daily use or at least motivated by the principal activity of its purchaser. Like any book, finally, a miscellany is loaded with power, that of surviving through time and pages by the force of the spirit and . . . of money![19] The manuscript is a machine with minute working parts, which is itself integrated into a system of economical, sociological, and cultural mechanisms, all with complex functions.[20] From this, to consider a book as a part of a historical and economical space means to account for the multiple dynamics that run through it in its lifetime.[21] In this context, the study of the marginalia of manuscript miscellanies allows us to apprehend the mental universe and the creative process at work in the artist, who in a way composes nothing but a collection of images within the text-collection. The marginalia moreover contextualize the space of existence of the book, as they do not refer to the text(s) contained, but rather to the artist's visual representation as well as to the codex's reception context.

Although we often spontaneously associate an author with a list of works, the medieval public tends to forget the creator's trace and overlooks the "unity" of a work in favor of a construction of new ensembles that may respond to various expectations. Moreover, the authors' manuscripts remain relatively isolated cases in the material transmission of a work; current studies show in fact that the authors get involved in very different ways: whether they actively participate in the material object's elaboration or help develop their production, they appear to be more or less aware of their personal "style."

It is generally accepted that the composition of a miscellany, be it cumulative or organic, responds to an intellectual organization that predates its actual collection, resulting in a unique material entity which turns out to be the consequence of a project, of a conceptualization. But more so than its nature, what is the finality of a miscellany? Does it respond to aesthetic, philosophic, historic, or economic imperatives? As Geneviève Hasenohr puts it, the first question does not appear to be that of the content, but rather that of the finality or destination of these volumes.[22]

As a matter of fact, what meaning can we give the gathering of textual unities that precede the existence of a miscellany? Why and how does one collect the texts in question? In order to answer these questions, modern criticism must first distance itself from the partial representation it may have had of the book

19. Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

20. Carla Bozzolo, Dominique Coq, Denis Muzerelle, and Ezio Ornato, "Une machine au fonctionnement complexe: le livre médiéval," in *La face cachée du livre médiéval; L'histoire du livre vue par Ezio Ornato, ses amis et ses collègues* (Viella: Rome, 1997), p. 87.

21. Gerald L. Bruns, "The Originality of Texts in a Manuscript Culture," *Comparative Literature* 32.2 (1980), pp. 113–29.

22. Hasenohr, p. 40.

as an object, as illustrated by the initial lexicological definition of miscellanies quoted at the beginning of this contribution, that of a "work or publication collecting documents of the same nature or belonging to the same genre, which are written, reproduced, or printed."

In the Middle Ages, indeed, before becoming an account of a given order, a miscellany is a factual assembly, not necessarily framed by a binding, of codicological unities, or booklets, which correspond to a succession of ontologically independent texts. However, conditioned by the classic organization of elements based on their morphological resemblances and their presupposed affinities, our modern systematic spirit tends to codify and organize the sense of *ordennancement* of these miscellanies into a hierarchy, in order perhaps to constrain them into a logic of contents that the researcher may or must unveil.[23]

This scientific tradition consequently forces the scholar to search for an impossible Ariadne's thread or mysterious DNA that would intertwine miscellanies' texts, obliterating the need to put the miscellany back into its frame and material context. Therefore, the pragmatic approach encourages us to think of miscellanies as a dialogue, as an interaction of elements, and prevents us from seeing them as a mere series of entities.

In conclusion, let us suggest that we ought to make a distinction between the order of a miscellany and its logic: the first echoing the programmatic codicological act, the other calling out the concepts involved in its reception; because, when culture becomes its own object, it subjects itself to constraints that deserve to be further explored. From the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century, from France to Italy[24] and England, in other words through a burgeoning modern Europe, the act of compilation queries the relationship of the individual[25] to the book. All at once librarian, printer, author, copyist or patron, the producers of a book wear masks that are just as fluid and perpetually mobile as medieval literature in general . . . not unlike the textual versatility and existential singularity out of which they evolve.

23. This judgment is transcended by Nancy Freeman Regalado's contribution (chapter 2) to this volume: "First, what makes a collection? Is it the intention of the makers, the decision of the owners who choose to bind works together, or the perception and the interpretation of readers of works gathered in a material book? Second, how can iconographic evidence be used to understand the intentions of the makers and the cultural meanings readers might have had in mind as they read works in a collection? Finally, what are the dynamics of reading in a collection: how do readers make signifying relations between images and texts in a manuscript book?"

24. For example, see Eleonora Stoppino, chapter 4, this volume.

25. No need to insist that the coming of age of the notion of individuality is essential for our comprehension of any cultural phenomenon; cf. Bernard Foccroulle, Robert Legros, and Tzvetan Todorov, *La naissance de l'individu dans l'art,* Nouveau Collège de Philosophie (Paris: B. Grasset, 2005).

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